THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

BOOM towns, it was supposed, were the particular possession of the frontier and would pass when the frontier passed. But several generations of us were brought up on the "bigger and better" slogans of the boom era—with the result that half of us live in or within twenty-five miles of 95 metropolitan cities. And we live badly. They are obsolete. Here, seven years after our pioneer regional plan issue of May 1925, we again give over an issue to the planners, a group of ardent men who this time spend less of their space in exposing existing evils of mass living than in their challenge of a better way of life. The articles were gathered together and edited by CAROL ARONOVICI, housing reformer, city and regional planner, teacher, author, lecturer, who is now in Germany for a year making a study of German planning on an Oberlaender fellowship. To him our profound thanks. He himself writes the leading article (page 437) and the bibliography (page 476).

CITIES are the test of our civilization, for civilization is a flow of goods and a flow of folks—and the flow has been dammed by sheer unplanned growth. Whether it means the end of our civilization or the peak of it is discussed by BENTON MACKAYE, that ardent champion of villages and woods and hills and streams, whose writings in both books and magazines are well known to our readers (page 441).

THE distinguished geographer of Yale who has explored half of Asia as well as North America, ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, is best known to the public as the author of Civilization and Climate. On page 445 he sets forth his conviction of the growing disadvantages of cities as places in which to live the good life.

SENIOR agricultural economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, author and lecturer on economic geography, O. E. BAKER writes on page 450 of the great areas from which we now draw our daily bread and the sharply limited areas from which cities must hereafter draw their population.

A MAN is as old as his arteries. And a city or a country as old as its arteries of traffic. The threat of national arteriosclerosis vividly put by ROBERT A. LESHER (page 456) who is a ranking engineer in the field of transportation.

IF a city is to last it must be built on a firm foundation of economic geography. OTIS P. STARKEY shows (page 461) how its relation to markets, transportation lines, raw materials, foodstuffs, climate are as vital to a healthy city as proper diet is to a growing child.

THE author of Middletown, ROBERT S. LYND, turns (page 465) to Manhattan and points the moral that "metropolitan living, for all its superficial polish, is first-cousin culturally to a frontier boom-town."

CONGESTION of ideas which denies a hearing to the Pacific Coast because editorial policies are made on the Atlantic Coast, is a cultural manifestation of our unplanned country. The situation as it appears to LYMAN BRYSON, executive director of the California Association for Adult Education (page 466).

THERE are perhaps too many plans when what we need is better planning. A note of warning struck (page 468) by HENRY WRIGHT, veteran city and regional planner whose most recent achievements have been at the garden city of Radburn, N. J., and the Buhl Foundation development in Pittsburgh.

THE public tools that are ready for the hand of the planner described (page 472) by CHARLES S. ASCHER of the Public Administration Clearing House.

IT'S not just a case of cities—the planner nowadays reaches down to the rural village and its surrounding countryside. WALTER A. TERPENNING (page 474) of the department of sociology of the Western State Normal School at Kalamazoo, Mich., gives some concrete examples.

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CLIFF DWELLERS

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Let the Cities Perish

By CAROL ARONOVICI

NEARLY half the population of the United States has come to live in ninety-five metropolitan cities or within twenty-five miles of them. The growth of population in metropolitan areas has created in the minds of land speculators and in the fertile imaginations of commercial organizations a form of competitive megalomania which spells anarchy in the economic and social development of these centers.

The tense economic individualism of cities which found that their population drifts towards the periphery and jumps the fences of artificial political boundaries, thus depriving the municipality of the revenues that accrue from land sweating and overcrowding of human beings, is largely responsible for what is now called metropolitan planning. This hydralike reach of the metropolitan tentacles into the recesses of suburban development and growth in order that outlying communities may still remain vassals of the "great" city might well be defined as metropolitan planning—provided the metropolis has so far evolved as to become aware of the fact that planning may still insure economic levies upon politically independent communities. It is a form of organized parasitism which may have its good aspects, but which in the main is intended as a means of maintaining a social and economic hold upon population which has sought refuge from its political boundaries and its social inadequacies.

If you look at a modern plan of a region you will invariably find that the stream of services suggested, the flow of traffic to be provided for, the community equipment estimated as necessary for future development are all made subservient to the metropolitan nucleus of the region. The object is not the finding of a new and a better way of living, but the finding of a method of retaining a hold upon whatever new way of living the people of the congested center may find of their own accord. A study of census figures and the calculations of outstanding statisticians promise only slight increases in our population as a whole, and therefore the hope of new population coming into the deserted and blighted areas of our metropolitan cities is gloomy; especially when we realize that some metropolitan areas are contemplating not a doubling but a quadrupling of their populations within a period of time that will yield land profits to a generation still living. Indeed some cities have subdivided and made ready for use land areas, both urban and suburban, adequate for fifteen times the population of the last census. If any one were to take seriously the estimates of metropolitan population by optimistic commercial organizations and real-estate speculators, the metropolitan population of the United States within the next generation would be about 200,000,000, or some 50,000,000 more than the total population of the United States as estimated by the most reliable statisticians concerned with the forecasting of populational growth.

In other words, metropolitan forecasts of growth as expressed in terms of land development find themselves caught between the devils of over-speculation and the deep seas of birth control, restriction of immigration and the natural slowing up of the increase in population. We can see the choice is therefore between drastic regeneration of the congested areas, and parasitism upon the new and politically independent suburbs. The former entails great immediate sacrifices of property values and enormous improvement costs, while the latter is for the moment cheaper and has the lure of obvious technical reasonableness.

As against this type of metropolitan concentric planning the new regionalism has come to give impetus to a movement for the social and economic integration of individual communities in their relation to their surroundings. The dynamic factor in this type of planning is not the overcoming of the re-

GROANING taxpayers, squealing brakes, crowded subways, half-empty skyscrapers, a stalled industrialism, leisure but no place to go, somebody always stepping on your heels—the modern city is a mixed picture, a place of high prices for small potatoes. The metropolis is breaking down financially, going the way of overproduction, overbuilding, overcrowding, obsolescence. But there's a way of making great and beautiful cities into physical and spiritual realities. Dr. Aronovici here writes a prescription and introduces the succeeding articles, which suggest new ways of making our natural regions serve a better way of living.

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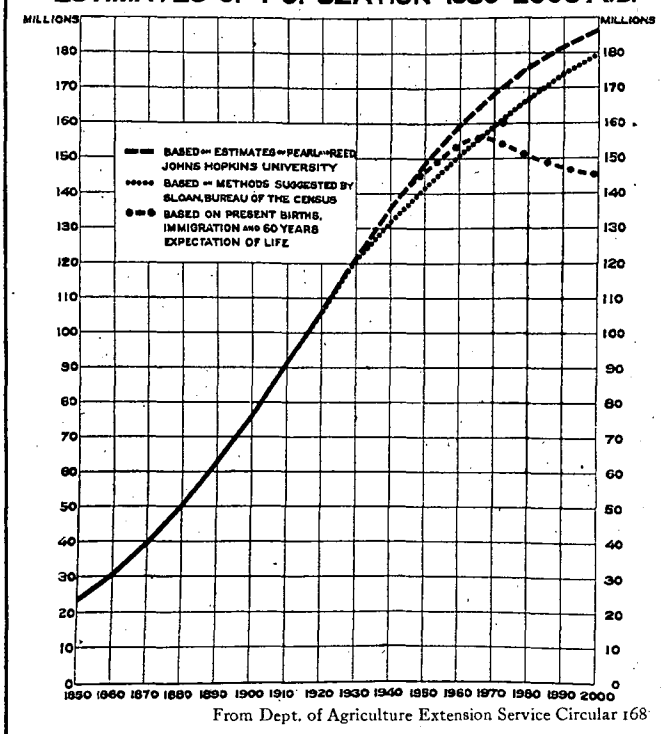
POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 1850-1920
AND
ESTIMATES OF POPULATION 1930-2000 A.D.
MILLIONS
BASED ON ESTIMATES OF PEARL AND REED JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BASED ON METHODS SUGGESTED BY SLOAN, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
BASED ON PRESENT BIRTHS, IMMIGRATION AND 60 YEARS EXPECTATION OF LIFE
1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000

From Dept. of Agriculture Extension Service Circular 168

Since Professors Pearl and Reed estimated that the United States was approaching a stationary population of nearly 200 millions about 2020, the rapid decline in the birth rate and the restrictions of the present immigration laws would indicate a maximum population of less than 165 millions about 1960 and a decline soon thereafter

sistance between metropolis and suburbs due to congestion, distance, discomfort, but the creating of avenues of independent local activity in which the larger center plays the part of the specialist in providing services and functions—social, economic and cultural—which the smaller centers can not economically and efficiently provide and maintain.

The time has passed in this country when our cities need to follow the course of evolution and revolution characterized by pioneering, exploitation and obsolescence. We have had enough experience and have paid for it a very high social and economic price.

During the Renaissance and after, the philosophers fretted over the persistence of the antiquated and obsolescent cities when a complex civilization was becoming more and more flexible in an inflexible environment. The conditions of the Renaissance are again finding expression in our modern cities which are trying to mitigate but not remove the evils of the past by retaining the rigidity of our political, economic and legal structure of another age and still extort the benefits of an advancing mechanical and cultural civilization.

As the concentration in our cities becomes more intense, and as the streams of industrial production, distribution and the business of financing become more intimately integrated, the social distance between human beings increases so that the art of living and the business of making a living have come into intense conflict. Planning, and particularly regional planning which has within its technique the power to overcome this conflict, is the only means of bringing about harmony between the art of living and the necessity for making a living.

We are no longer satisfied with standards which make life possible. A new civilization demands that life be made bearable and agreeable.

The planner of the last two decades seems to have become aware to the point of obsession that movement of humans and freight has made great strides. Speed has been increased, distance has been overcome and through the universal use of the automobile, rapid transit has become individualized. This has resulted in mass planning and mass production of the means of transportation and provisions for streams of transit by railroad, elevated, subway, underwater tubes, truck, automobile. Civilization has been put on wheels and the planners have conspired to increase dispatch and reduce confusion. The madness for saving time in travel has taken the place of judgment as to movement; indeed we have confused movement with progress and time-saving with economy. It has seemed easier to facilitate the doing of what is already being done than to discover whether what is being done is worth the doing. Thus we have piled up great debts for public highways and public carriers which spell bankruptcy to many cities and have at the same time speeded up the obsolescence of homes, apartment houses, office and manufacturing plants while we were trying to save them from strangulation by the conflict between the old order of the physical community and the new order of mechanical locomotion.

This conflict in our larger cities reduces all planning effort to the adjustment between height of buildings, density of population and the violence of human activity. In his book on New York, Paul Morand said that "New York is supremely beautiful in its violence." If there is beauty in violence our cities are very beautiful.

It seems to one who is willing to forget the exigencies of the day and finds a contemplative moment to look at the city as a medium for social relationships that embrace not only functional efficiency but all the functions and expressions of an advancing and rapidly changing civilization, that so far technique has failed to create the new city and that technique needs greater penetration into the intricacies of human society.

At least four facts are obvious upon an examination of the modern city, namely:

1. That industrial activity and growth have found that they are no longer dependent upon the large center for either the facilities of production, the transportation of raw materials or the distribution of products.

2. That city planning as we have been in the habit of practicing it has failed to reconcile modern industrialism with urban economy so that while values have been piling up in some quarters obsolescence and leakage of values have been taking place in other parts of our cities.

3. That industry is only a small portion of urban activity and that the great source of employment is to be found in the fields of distribution, professional service, personal service, cultural activities and the great mass of convenience and luxury production and service which are in a sense the measure of a leisure civilization as distinct from a leisure-class civilization.

4. That the distribution of time in human activities is tending from a work philosophy to a leisure philosophy and that industrialism with its attending displacement of man-power by machine-power has introduced an expanding leisure element in the planning of communities which heretofore has been only incidental to the business of living.

The production economy of yesterday seems to have turned its back upon society, and there is need for seeking a new kind of social economy which will overcome the power of the machine to flood us with goods by a new economy of distribu-

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tion of goods and a new philosophy of leisure. Not only have we enough goods to meet all the essential needs of all our people, we have enough machines and are capable of producing more such machines as will reduce the whole of our goods-producing labor to a small aristocracy of the employed and a vast majority of idlers whose only recourse would be a revolution in order to change the present economic order into something that would know how to use machines for human comfort rather than human misery. In the face of these changes which we have no way of escaping, man is trying to find a way out by seeking new outlets for his energy and merely succeeding in increasing the confusion.

New York's congestion, Chicago's slums and the blighted areas of many other cities are due to fluidity of population, which must be attributed not to any freedom of movement caused by release from economic obligation, but by the constant increase in the obsolescence of labor as an adjunct of industrial production.

The very pressure upon our communities due to the drift of population from the smaller to the larger communities, has caused the obsolescence of most of the facilities which a normally growing community could and would be able to provide. Streets become obsolescent, water supplies become inadequate and increasingly costly to secure, transit becomes congested and can only be provided by heavy sacrifices on the part of the taxpayers, commerce must meet the inconvenience and increasing cost of distribution of goods, old buildings decay because of changes and drifts of activity seeking release from the mess of the inefficient and inflexible city,—and even government becomes too complex and unwieldy as the community increases to a size which human experience and skill is powerless to grasp as an administrative unit.

While this is going on the hours of leisure become both a blessing and a menace to society. Enforced leisure due to increase in the power of machine production accumulates liabilities upon our resources, while the margin between work and leisure among those employed raises new problems of making leisure a constructive element in a new civilization.

With these factors and changes in mind a new concept of community-building must be formulated. The definition given by one of the outstanding planners of this country that "city planning is the technique of changing the physical structure of a city in harmony with established conventions, practices and objectives" is no longer valid if we consider the city from the point of view of the large stock of failures due to an endeavor to harmonize established conventions, practices and objectives. It is these very practices and objectives that must be scrutinized and challenged. The functionalism[1] of the past has lost its objectives or its objectives have become obsolete, as have the communities themselves in which this functional planning has been practiced.

Then too the economic structure upon which our cities are founded appears to be fast giving way. The drift of population from congested areas to the periphery is leaving a considerable vacuum not only in the physical structure of the city but in its economic and social values. The blighted areas are being drained slowly of their economic values by their inability to produce revenue and the additional burden imposed by taxation which is based upon the value of hopes long ago lost by the property-owners. Community equipment—roads, parks, schools, churches—is becoming obsolescent with the change in productive and use values of vast city areas. Cultural advantages are migrating to the periphery, driven by the intolerable conditions of congestion, the heavy cost of fixed charges and operation. The radio, the telephone, television, rural highways and the impending development of aerial travel as an everyday convenience are making the city largely a tradition devoid of the conveniences of modern efficient living.

This urban vacuum and obsolescence will result in a complete revaluing of the physical structure and equipment of our cities, a junking of what is obsolescent and reconstruction along lines in harmony not with tradition, but with social trends in which work and leisure, civic and cultural advance will replace the economic and industrial functionalism of the past. The heavier the losses in urban values, the greater the awakening to its inefficiency, the sooner will we shift to a form of urban reconstruction that will meet human needs. Let the cities perish so that we may have great and beautiful cities.

THE metropolitanism of today with its attending handmaiden, metropolitan planning, will not get us very far either in the reconstruction of the metropolitan center or in the development of the satellite communities. What is needed is a thorough emancipation of the suburban communities from the metropolis. As long as New York, Boston, Chicago or Los Angeles can depend upon the outlying communities to pay them tribute, as long as business and cultural parasitism is encouraged and planned for by the metropolitan center, there is little hope of social, cultural and economic integration of the smaller suburban places. They will remain mere bedrooms for the advantage of which their people will have to pay tribute until such time as the metropolis hydralike will suck their very physical existence into the body politic of decayed and corrupted political organization.

REGIONAL planning in contrast to metropolitan planning is concerned with the technique of community integration in its relation to a family of communities which may share in the natural geographic advantages of a self-contained region of which the individual community is a part.

Regionalism is not a new concept nor is it a new condition affecting human society. The history of human society bears the imprint of regional communal life which was self-contained in terms of natural resources, homogeneity of living conditions, climate and safety from adjoining regions. It was the rise of human aggressiveness and the development of mili-

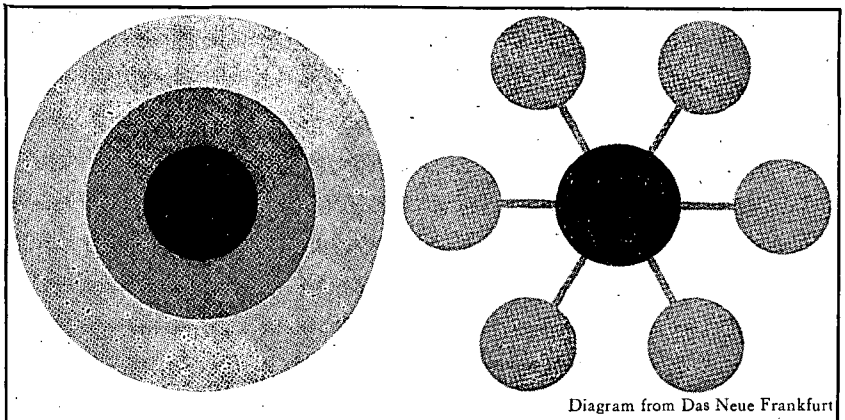

Diagram from Das Neue Frankfurt

The familiar concentric development of the city and (right) the decentralized development—individual units pushing out into the open country

[1]The distinction between function and service has not been sufficiently emphasized in planning. A road may function efficiently in carrying its load of traffic and yet may represent a social and economic failure when considered in terms of broad community objectives.

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Save the Countryside

By FREDERICK BIGGER

AS a matter of fact, regardless of how far we attempt to look ahead, we have already made some progress. Insofar as we have learned something from our experience and have profited by our mistakes, we may welcome the opportunity to approach the problems of regional planning.

For one thing seems certain, if the region is conceived of as merely the sphere of influence of the urban center, then we may perhaps call the planners only "greater-city" planners and we may fear that, by contributing only minor technical competence to their job, they will be postponing by so much the more permanent achievement that is desired. If, on the other hand, we can prevent the countryside from being gobbled up to satisfy the voracious appetite of the city, and if we can intelligently develop the environmental areas in relation to themselves, to the city, and to the whole region, we may avoid the pitfall. The possibility of ultimately solving such a problem is suggested, not only by the success of the garden city experiment but by the ever more and more perceived necessity of finding a solution.

tary imperialism that broke up the regions, attempted to destroy their economic, social and cultural unity and built the new state in the interest of which regional integrity had to be destroyed. Perhaps at no time in the history of European civilization has regionalism been more ruthlessly attacked than in the eighteenth century. In its place was built the modern state in which the individual was an undifferentiated cog in the wheel of state. In France, in particular during the revolution of 1789, the historical regions which had a geographic, economic and cultural significance were broken up; in their place artificial political units were created as a means of disrupting local solidarity and destroying local cultural values in the interest of a political state. It is only within recent years that the movement for the rehabilitation of the early regional economic and cultural civilization has found expression not alone in organized local community effort, but in a vast and creative literary movement.

Regionalism in Europe was based upon slow settlement and development of regions out of which have grown cultural and social institutions of great diversity and native color and value. The settlement of the United States, because of haste and the spirit of pioneering and quick exploitation, has resulted in general disregard of regional value, which the political theorists also overlooked to the extent of making state and county boundaries which, except for momentary military exigencies, were merely hasty conveniences in setting up political control in which nature had no part. Rivers were made into boundaries when they represented natural means of easy intercourse, and valleys were split into geometric units which afforded convenience to the surveyor and violated every possibility of regional and communal integration.

The Philadelphia Tri-State Metropolitan Plan, the Port of New York Authority Plan, the Niagara Falls International Plan are evidences of a new regional awakening in which water boundaries are recognized as regional bounds rather than as regional barriers. As far back as 1588 an Italian writer named Botero advanced the theory that no community can stand alone and that the greatness of a city depends upon the region in which it finds its human, economic and social resources. Humboldt, Guyot, Ratzel, Ritter, Reclus, Vidal de la Blanche, LePlay, Geddes, J. Russell Smith have all worked towards a clarification of the regional concept as a factor in human civilization while the regions, despite political ignorance and commercial greed, have continued to exist and in a measure to shape social and economic entities without benefit of conscious human cooperation.

With the breaking down of artificial political boundaries, with the movement of population away from the cramped and technically obsolete centers of population, a new vision of community building is finding expression and regionalism is the natural unit in which the new order of communal life must find reality.

The industrial age has come to an end. We are no longer concerned with the technical problems of production, but with creating a society which can absorb the benefits of industry without destroying the human values which are after all the essence of social purpose. Industrial production and industrialism are distinct and separate social phenomena. What is needed is not the mending of the ways of industry but the destruction of industrialism. This can not be done in the present metropolitan environment. We need a new concept of the relation between man and his environment, between man and his work, between the community and man. The new region with its diversity of resources, with its new opportunities for identifying its own personality with the environment, and the new problems of upbuilding communities and community life on a scale and on principles consistent with the potentialities of mechanical civilization and in harmony with the newly gained leisure, afford opportunities for revolutionary social reconstruction.

Even in the cultural field the cosmopolitanism of the "great city" has failed. In New York, Chicago, Boston, the cultural, economic and ethnic groups have created regions of their own in the jungles of the slums. What Jung calls "race-memory" persists even under the pressure of metropolitan social distance between individuals. This race-memory may be made to evolve and function progressively as it is afforded opportunities for communal action and interaction under conditions of well-defined community of interest backed by common advantages to be gained through enlightened functioning. This type of enlightened cultural and civic expression is denied not alone to the dweller of the city slum, but also to the suburbanite running for his train—a man with no civic identity either in the place where he sleeps or the place where he works.

IF our civilization is to escape destruction by letting life take the byways and industrialism the highways, we must recognize that this country of ours is populated in congested lumps and that the vast open spaces are still free for the building of the community of the future. If democracy is to again find expression and replace the present system of plutocracies which subsist merely on the veneer of philanthropy, we must have the courage to return to the natural advantages of the regional concept of community development in a thoroughgoing manner. This is not the task of today or tomorrow, but a task worthy of a strong nation which has seen industrialism crumble under the walls of the great city. It will not be the commercial club or the philanthropist who will undertake and accomplish this task of regional reconstruction of our civilization and culture. A revolution in the minds of the people, a new penetration into the hopelessness of the present order on the part of honest leadership will carve the way out of the inevitable collapse of our present method of urban living.

Community planning must cease to be merely an anesthetic which makes confusion, inefficiency and waste tolerable and temporarily profitable for a few. It must enter the realm of spiritual evolution guided by the most far-reaching and revolutionary scientific penetration.

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End or Peak of Civilization?

By BENTON MACKAYE

In place of a world, there is a *city*, a *point*, in which the whole life of broad regions is collecting while the rest dries up. . . . This is a very great stride toward the inorganic, toward the end. *Oswald Spengler.*

THE end of what? Herr Spengler says "western civilization." If so then the big city (the metropolis) assumes a dignity which calls for more than emergent plans to keep streets open or to make more subways; it calls for a look beyond the horizons seen from the top of the metropolitan skyscraper. So let us ascend the "Empire State" and consider civilization.

Spengler says that civilization is a cycle like the four seasons: it blooms in the spring, grows in the summer, fades in the autumn and "dries up" toward the wintry end. As it dries it concentrates—in "a city, a point." The metropolis therefore is the harbinger of death. As the ancient Mediterranean civilization desiccated in Carthage and in Rome so its modern counterpart is drying up in Hamburg and New York.

Henry Adams suggests that our civilization is a "comet." It consists of one big turning, not a series. Modern western society lives in the elbow of a parabolic curve following the law of the inverse square. Human society during the ninety thousand years preceding 1600 A. D. made about so much progress in mind and mechanism. During the three hundred years following 1600 A. D. it made an equal progress. Three hundred is the square root of ninety thousand. Adams (in 1909) queried whether this progression might continue (17 being the square root of 300, and 4 of 17). And would the curve straighten out again? Might there be a progression of 300, 17, 4, and then a straightening to 4, 17, 300, etc.? If so then the first half of the twentieth century would mark the turn of the comet of progress—the peak or culmination of development.

For development *in terms of the machine* this might well be so. And if so here is promise. The terrifying typhoon of the turning spell cannot last much longer, and parabolic peace must settle soon on a lengthening period of mental assimilation in terms of actual enlightenment. Mind yet may master ingenuity!

These two themes, put together, make an intriguing interpretation of the metropolis as the index of mechanical civilization. Spengler's theme suggests the end, Adams's the peak, of this civilization. Which is right? The answer transcends the wisdom of Solomon, Congress and the American press. We must wait a century or so and see. Yet we must live meanwhile—and act. But on what basis? Let us accept both themes, first one and then the other, and through them get a look at what is going on in the big world to be seen from the Empire State Building.

But first of all we shall define for present purposes the little word "civilization" and at the same time we will try to briefly visualize its essence.

Civilization as a Flow

PHYSICAL outward civilization may be likened to a cobweb. At present a badly disheveled cobweb! It is a tangled network—a wilderness of metal threads (steel rails, copper wires, the routes of iron steamships) spread around the earth and woven here and there in compact knots (metropolises). These threads get entangled in various ways—mechanically, financially, humanly. Why shouldn't they? They reach around the world and are governed by a hundred thousand masters. When they get too much snarled they give forth maladies—congestion, strikes, hard times.

But outward civilization is more than just a maze. For the threads are hollow and serve as veins through which flows the blood itself—the vital *liquid* element. There is the flow of the world's goods (food, clothing, "things"). There is the flow of the folks themselves: back and forth across the map, and in migration to take up new abodes. The *essence* of civilization is a *flow*.

Let us look at both kinds—the flow of goods and the flow of folk: we shall consider them respectively with the two themes of history—of Oswald Spengler and of Henry Adams.

The Flow of Goods

FIRST we shall accept Spengler's theme of history. The metropolis, "a city, a point," marks the end of the present western mechanical regime. The base of this regime is industry—not only western but world-wide, the fabric in which occurs the flow of the world's goods. Can this go on poorly functioning, or (as our historian suggests) must it rupture and finally disintegrate? Here is a problem indeed. Let us, from the top of the Empire State Building and via the airplane of the imagination, take cosmic flight in search of the perspective to see this problem whole.

We head outward toward the moon and then look back. What a meager object planet earth becomes—a little round cheese with yeast working here and there in small blotches that we dub "America," "Europe," "China"! The yeast appears to rise and fall in alternate war-like spasms and depressions. We go far enough away to get a truly cosmic view; then come in closer to study the surface in detail.

We find the "cobweb" of Earthian industrial civilization, a matrix of tiny streams— a veritable blood system—whereby the Earthians somehow make a living. Each stream is an article of need. We pick out three of them —silk, flour, nails—elements respectively of clothing, food, shelter. We follow their paths around the planet:

In China a stream of silk starts in a field, passes through a silk mill in Shanghai, flows in little drops called

HEADING outward to the moon, a philosopher takes off from the top of the Empire State tower and fires his queries in the face of gods and men. He sees metropolis, choked by its growth and reaching out to infect its environs, suddenly thawing into an outbound folk-flow which may again remake the map laid down by the covered wagon, immigrant trains on the western railroads and the trek from country to city.

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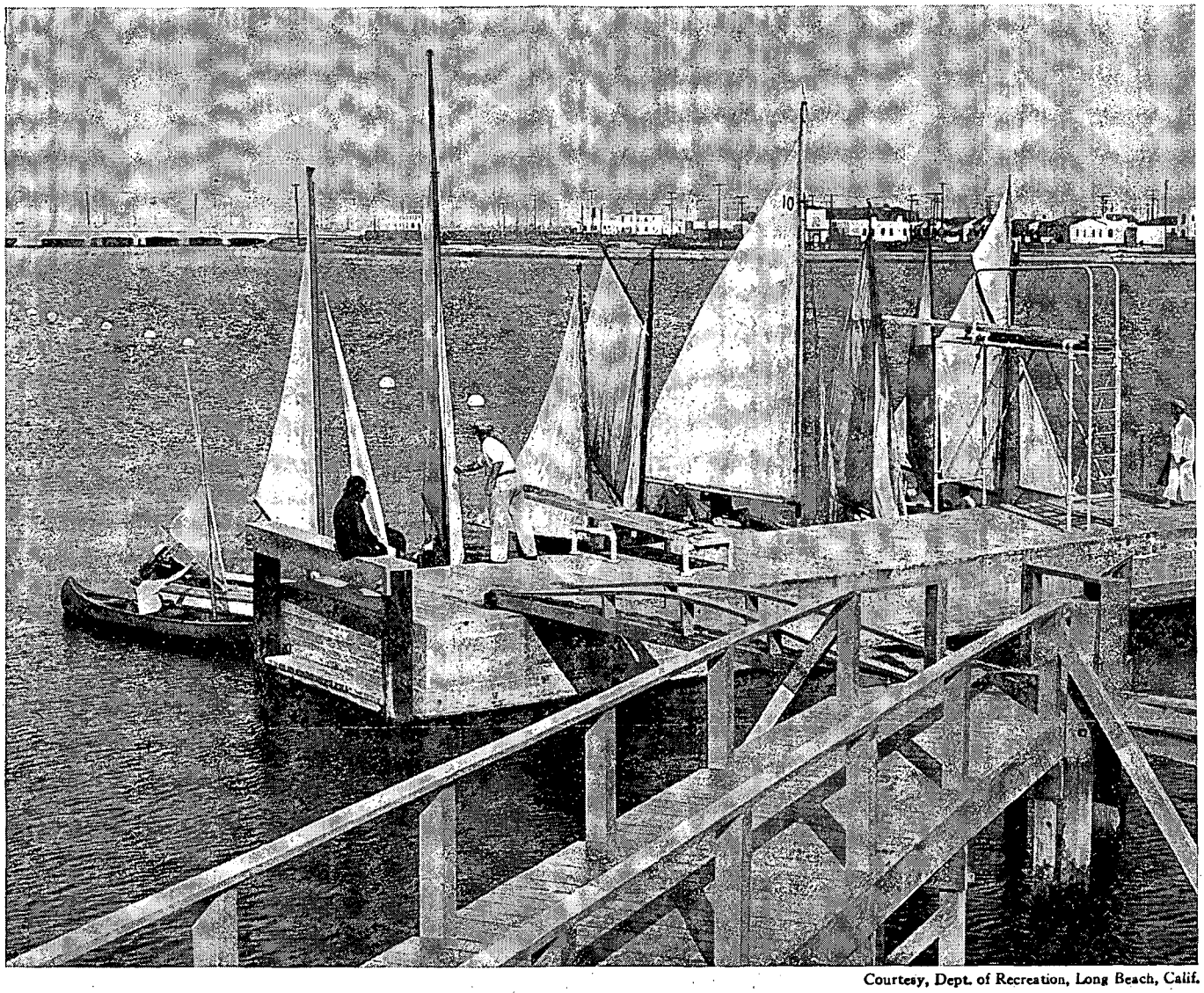

Courtesy, Dept. of Recreation, Long Beach, Calif.

A balanced environment for human beings is made up of primeval, communal and rural settings. Long Beach boys enjoying the sea in sailboats they have constructed in the workshops of the recreation center

"spools" into a ship in the harbor, proceeds across the Pacific to San Francisco, and thence in streamlets to the housewives of America.

In America to pay the silk bill another stream arises. This starts as wheat on a North Dakota ranch, passes through a mill in Minneapolis and emerges on the other side as flour; as such it flows via rail to New York harbor, and via steamship across the Atlantic to Liverpool; thence in streamlets to the dinner tables of England.

In England the relay is continued. Two streams arise, one in Yorkshire of grains of iron ore—the other in Cornwall of lumps of coal; both streams flow via rail and meet at the smelters in Birmingham where they coalesce and form a single stream of pig iron. This passes through a nearby rolling mill, emerges as a stream of iron nails. As such it flows by rail to Southampton, thence via steamship along the ocean life-cord of the British Empire, through Gibraltar, Suez, Singapore to the gateway of Hong Kong; thence in streamlets to the hardware shops of China.

We might trace other streams—east and west, north and south; each rises in a field or mine or forest; each ends in a home; each passes en route through a series of converters (factories); each squeezes through bottle-necks (metropolises). (One fifth of America's export tonnage squeezes through the bottle-neck of New York harbor).

Thus flows the Earthian blood system: silk pays for flour which pays for iron which pays for silk, *ad infinitum*. A marvelous creation! No more miraculous are the life processes of the human body than these on the surface of this cosmic cheese.

Alas! Like human life each such "cheese life" has but its single day. (So runs our theme of history.) A man's blood system is as old as its arteries. A planet's "blood system" is as old as its bottle-necks. And it suffers from the ills that we have mentioned—congestion, strikes, hard times. The streams get choked, or cease to flow, or otherwise run high and low—in spasm or depression.

Well, what of it? Should we mourn for the departing or prepare for the soul conceived? If one life system be in process of death why not another in process of birth? In simple cosmic perspective it would seem that if Earthians are doomed indeed to scrap their present set-up then it is in natural order to devise a substitute—to start afresh and chart the distribution of Earthly goods on a new pattern and technique. And a more efficient pattern. Chart the streams to flow directly, not (as now) in double crosses. Cancel out the cross-hauls. Spread the factories along the stream instead of huddling them. Reroute the streams to reduce the bottle-necks. Above all gauge

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each cargo by the demand at the stream's mouth, not (as now) by the supply at the stream's source.

"A Gargantuan order," you may call this. Not if we use well the Aladdin's lamps of our modern mechanical equipment. "A technique inexorably complex!" No more so than a dozen other techniques—in physics, mechanics, electrolysis.

In some such wise, then, would we act on civilization as a flow of the world's goods—and meet the challenge implied in the theme of Oswald Spengler.

Courtesy Westchester County Workshop

A sketch class sponsored by the Recreation Commission of Westchester County, New York, in the pleasant rural setting the county's park commission has preserved

The Flow of Folk

NEXT we shall accept the promise implied by Henry Adams which involves the problem of the flow of folk rather than of commodities and "things." The promise is indeed a possible solution of the growing issue between these two. Will folk control things—or things stampede folk? It depends on momentum. When a reservoir flows over, water and not man is temporary boss. As with water-flow so with commodity-flow—given enough momentum it controls the situation. While, as Henry Adams intimates, the power to make commodities shall *increase* (and accelerate), then the sheer force of productivity must push everything before it, and commodity not man obtain the right of way. But when, as also he implies, the course of productive power shall, like the comet's path, reverse itself—when it shall *decrease* (and decelerate)—then should man and not commodity control the day.

(The present business depression is of course no part of this "decrease"; it is a jam in industry and not a relaxation; it is a single incident in the general career of industry run wild.)

And so we hail the promise of the Adams theme: that industry (now wild) is going to be tamed by relieving its high tension at the source. Healthful relaxation of industry should release energy for culture. Or might it on the other hand lead to all-round indolence? In either case special effort would be due to culture—to stimulating ordered growth of human sensibilities. These sensibilities therefore we shall consider in this article, but we must vision first the folk movement of which they are a part. Let us then look at our American folk-flow; let us go upon another imaginary journey from the top of the Empire State Building.

America we saw, in our last journey, as one small blotch upon the globe—Europe another, China another. In our world survey of commodity-flow it was enough to trace a stream of silk from somewhere in China to somewhere in America; enough to trace a commodity-stream from somewhere in one country to somewhere in another. "Somewhere" was enough. A gray daub upon the globe indicated the population area of eastern United States; in world dimensions "Eastern U. S." is all one town within which the population is a fixture. But seen on closer view the constituent centers of said "Eastern U. S." are found to be not fixed but fluid. And if we traced commodity-flow within this area, from farm or mine to ultimate home, we should find that the latter itself is moving. This movement of the home is the ultimate *folk-flow*.

There have been three folk-flows, or migrations, in the land of America. First came the outward movement after 1776 when a population was led across a continent by the Covered Wagon. This, the agricultural migration, was followed after 1830 by the steam migration led by the Iron Horse. Following these tides—"Westward Ho!"—(and while they were still on) there developed, especially after 1880, the movement from the rural sections inward toward factory and skyscraper—toward the *city*, the *point* "in which the whole life of broad regions" was collecting.

These three folk-movements may be named in order: they are the outflow, the reflow, the inflow.

America is now in the midst of the fourth migration—the *backflow*. This is the push from each central city backward toward the suburbs and beyond. The population of the typical metropolis is flowing into the suburbs. (There are plenty of figures to show this tendency.) It is flowing further—taking up its bungalow quarters along the motor roads. This backflow is the vehicle for the *metropolitan invasion* of America at large. We call it "invasion" because it is in essence an intrusion—a malign intrusion—on the innate American background. The intrusive taint attached to this particular folk-flow consists not in the city folks themselves but in the metropolitan *environment* which follows them.

THE crudity and not the culture of the big city is what is flowing to the outskirts and beyond. The crude massings of suburban melancholy (the "Bronxes" and the "Hobokens"), narrowing to "Motortowns" along the highways, have now begun to ooze back toward the country in many radiating streams.

The essential influence of these streams is now being recognized under the precise and unexaggerated label, "motor slum" (the name prescribed by Walter Prichard Eaton). And so the big city, if menaced by a flood of goods from outside sources, is itself the source and menace of another kind of flood invading the outer stretches of America.

And this brings us to the human sensibilities involved in America's folk-flow.

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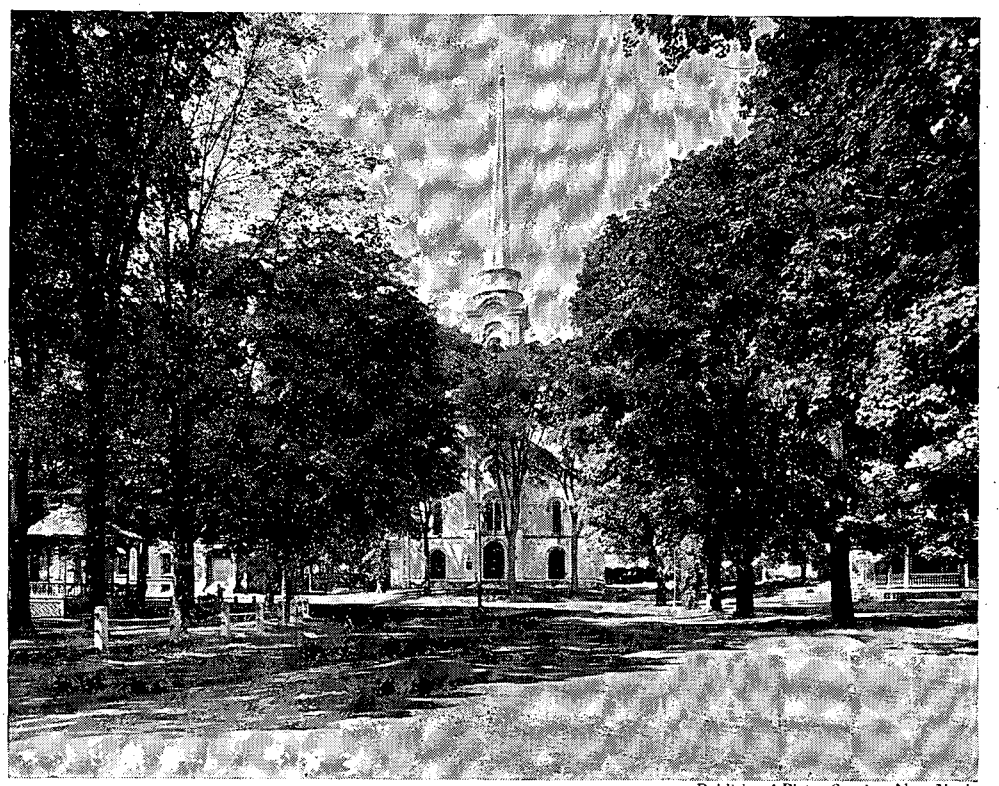

Publishers' Photo Service, New York

We need some equivalent of the early village green, some center for communal life

Human Considerations

DESTINY vs. destination. This is the distinction between the objectives sought in the guidance respectively of folk-flow and of commodity-flow. With the latter the final goal is the delivery of worldly goods at the consumer's home, wherever this happens to be. With the former the goal consists in providing the home itself, and the home community. Each of the American folk-flows cited—outflow, reflow, inflow, backflow—is (or was) a quest for a better state in human living. This better state consists of two things—a better job and a better home. A better home consists of a better house and a better community, and the second is fundamental to the first. Social environment is basic to individual; and failure to perceive this truth is one big cause of failure by the individual to improve his lot. Commodity-flow is concerned with physical destination; folk-flow with social destiny.

Destiny has its inner and its outer aspects. We deal here with the outer aspects, the "geography" so to speak of human betterment. The influence of this geography affects of course the inner mind: this influence is indeed the *common mind* shared by our inmost selves. Air is the common substance of our physical breath. Environment is the common substance of our total human life; the biologist calls it the "sum total of influences affecting an organism from without." Only by bettering this "sum total" can we better our own lives.

"To carve the very atmosphere through which we look"—this, says Thoreau, is "the highest of arts."

What manner of "atmosphere" (environment) is required for human betterment? There seem to be three kinds whose proper balance is innate in permanent human welfare:

1. The *primeval* environment, from which we sprung.
2. The *communal* environment, in which we grew up as social beings.
3. The *rural* environment, which bridges the other two.

They are the settings respectively of forest, village, field. They form the background of all human life; combined they make that basic native innate influence which we shall call the *indigenous* environment; against this any other type comes as an *intrusive* influence. This indigenous environment, in final analysis, forms the source of mental life and culture—even as the Earth itself is the source of material life and industry. As we maintain industry by conserving the natural resources of soil and wood and waterpower, so we maintain culture by developing the "natural resource" of innate environment. And the true city (the grown-up village) is part of this resource.

But not the pseudo-city called "metropolis": its environment is intrusive, not innate; it is a massing not a unit, a collection not a community, an inorganic deposit not an organism. The metropolis is the source of the "metropolitan invasion"—that intrusive slum environment which is fastening its grip on the backflow of population. This back-flow even now is moulding the American future. Through it one influence or the other must pervade our future town and countryside—the intrusive, or the indigenous (as above defined). The metropolitan forces, blind but powerful, are working for the first; certain American forces, gradually becoming conscious, are working for the second. The latter are proceeding on three separate but related lines of action:

1. Retention of the wilderness stretches along the mountain ranges and elsewhere, thereby preserving the primeval environment. (The conservation movement.)
2. Guidance of the backflow to make not massings but communities, thereby conserving the communal environment. (The town-planning movement.)
3. Clearance from the highways of the motor slum, thereby maintaining the rural environment. (The highway reform movement.)

In such ways, then, would we act on civilization as a flow of American folk—we would control said flow to preserve that innate native environment which forms the base of native culture: so to greet the promise of that more enlightened day implied in the theme of Henry Adams.

WE return finally to the Empire State Building. We have been on two journeys, one above the Earth, the other above America. We have surveyed the problem of commodity-flow—that of physical destination, of making a living throughout the world. We have surveyed the matter of folk-flow—the geography of social destiny in one place in the world. These are pictures which loom from the American metropolis. One arises from that flood of goods pressing on the city's gates; the other from that back-flow which itself is causing flood beyond the gates. Each depicts a *city* problem—one incoming, one outgoing.

What means it all, the end or the peak of modern civilization? Nobody knows. What then? Prepare for both, meet the challenge of the one, greet the promise of the other.

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Climate and City Growth

By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON

THE percentage of our population engaged in urban pursuits is still increasing. Does this mean that we shall live in congested cities even more than at present? Will the cities continue to grow at rates proportional to those of the recent past? Doubtless the present tendencies will continue for a while, but several factors are already altering the distribution of our nonagricultural population and their effect is bound to increase. Motor transportation, of course, is one of these, and aerial transportation will soon be another. It is not so generally recognized, however, that two other factors are equally potent. One is the growing disadvantages of cities compared with the increasing advantages of non-urban areas and especially suburbs. The second is the growing realization that human well-being is the most important requisite of success economically, socially, politically. Let us see how these factors are likely to influence the distribution of population, first within the urban areas and then in the country as a whole.

A high degree of urbanization is a sign of great productivity and prosperity, but it is by no means the main cause of these conditions, as some people suppose. Congested cities are merely a hangover from days when people travelled on foot or with horses, and from later days when railways confined easy transportation to a few limited lines. In these days of automobiles, trucks and concrete roads with gyroscopic airplanes in the offing, no sane engineer would ever plan cities like those of today, nor would a competent architect plan skyscrapers unless he could set each one apart by itself. In fact a very good case can be made for the argument that if our cities were smaller and were spread out over a far larger area, our prosperity would be much greater. Warren Thompson in his excellent book on Population devotes an illuminating chapter to showing that a large city has almost no advantages over a small one. Except in minor details the streets, houses, stores, churches, libraries, schools, theaters, parks, office buildings and factories of a city of one hundred thousand people are quite as good as those of a city of one million. Only the great cities, to be sure, have the finest operas, most costly museums, most expensive experts, largest libraries and most complete assortment of goods in the stores. But how much difference does that make to ninety-nine people out of a hundred? With the radio, with our present ability to broadcast music and reproduce works of art, with our present ease of travel, and with the possibility of television not far away, these advantages sink to almost negligible proportions.

In contrast to this, compare the trouble that one has in getting to work in a big city and in a small one. I live in the genuine country where wild rabbits and pheasants run about on our driveway. I drive three miles to my office over very pretty streets, never have to wait for traffic jams, have no difficulty in parking my car, and can be at work in my office fifteen or even ten minutes after I leave the house. My office is quiet and pleasant with grass and trees outside the window. Yet the largest banks, theaters, stores and office buildings are within ten minutes' walk. This is in New Haven.

In New York no amount of wealth can purchase any such convenient and wholesome arrangement. There delay, noise, crowding and all sorts of annoyances are the inevitable concomitants of getting to and from work. Moreover, noise and bad air are generally present throughout the working hours. The people in great cities, as Mr. Thompson well says, do not accomplish more than those of little cities because of the size of the cities, but in spite of it. They accomplish a great deal because so many able people are attracted thither. If these same people worked under better surroundings they would almost certainly accomplish much more. Of course they are stimulated by meeting one another, but in these days of innumerable committees and conferences city leaders get far too much of this and not half enough time to think. Then, too, the magnitude of the great city defeats its own ends. If your office is on the twenty-fourth floor eight crowded blocks from another office on the thirty-seventh floor, it actually takes you longer to see a man in that other office than it does me to jump into my car and see a man two miles away in a second-floor office to which I walk instead of waiting for a crowd of girls to get out of the elevator.

IN the past this factor of the wear and tear of life in cities has played only a minor rôle in checking their growth, but people are becoming conscious of its importance. Executives who can control their own time often stay at their suburban homes when they have important work to do. This is partly to avoid interruption, partly to save the time and nervous tension required in going downtown, and partly to have a quiet comfortable place in which to do a little thinking. People of all kinds are more and more rebelling against the daily nervous strain of jamming into subways, trolleys and trains, waiting at crowded crossings, and spending their holidays in the midst of long, hot lines of gassy cars instead of among the trees and fields. They are counting the cost of the ruined health and warped temperaments that arise in this way. They are asking whether it pays at morning, noon and night to spend two or three hours each day in pushing, crowding, dodging, or simply waiting or sitting in order to work six or seven hours in the midst of still another kind of confusion. This is leading many men to debate the advisability of moving their business to some smaller city or far out into the suburbs.

Then, too, it is very hard for customers to get to the

CIVILIZATION and geography go hand in hand. Certain kinds of weather favor not only the greatest production of milk and eggs, but the greatest mental activity and hence the inventions and craftsmanship—on which a machine age must depend. Hence a geographer can predict not only how the socially desirable cities will differ from the metropolis of today, but where they will grow most rapidly.

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centers of business. That is why Sears Roebuck have established their big Philadelphia store far outside the city where they have plenty of parking space. Women can enjoy driving there, although many of them refuse to drive in the crowded traffic downtown. Moreover, if a woman wants to visit several stores, she can drive two or three miles from one suburban store with good parking space to another of the same kind far more easily and quickly than she can walk ten blocks in a crowded city, and she can carry her purchases with her.

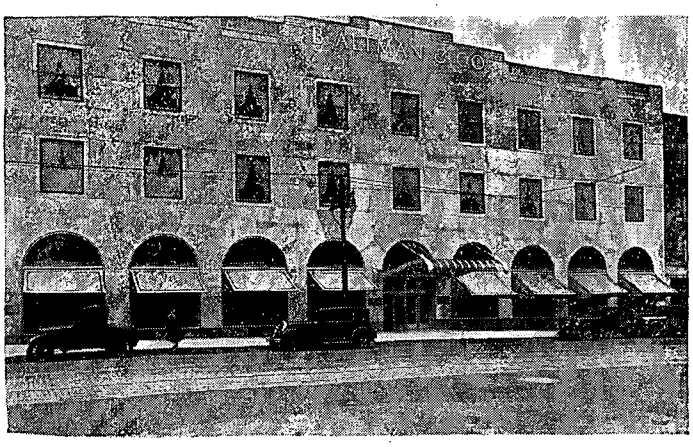
The beginning of a great spread of the city: branch stores in smaller towns. Altman's, New York City, and, below, its two suburban shops

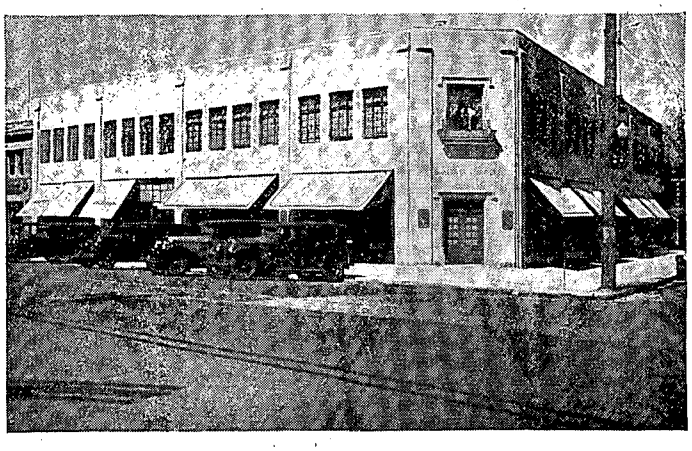
So here we have the beginning of a great spreading out of the cities. Was it only ten years ago that the merchants in smaller cities clamored to have the main motor highway pass before their doors? Now they desire nothing more fervently than to get every possible automobile off the street in order that their customers may park comfortably.

The growing inconvenience of city life stands in strong contrast to the growing convenience of life in suburbs, small towns and villages. A few decades ago electric lights, gas, running water, sewage disposal, garbage collection, smooth streets, good stores, mail delivery and even telephones were almost exclusively the perquisites of cities. Today they are available not only far out in the suburbs but in villages and even in the country. Reliable devices will now provide electricity, gas and running water, or carry off the sewage, even where there are no public utilities to take care of these matters. Wherever one lives he can have mechanical refrigeration and an oil furnace that needs no care. Chain stores supply a fresh and highly varied assortment of food in almost every village. On a rainy day it is easier to spin three miles to the store in the car, provided the store has parking space, than to walk five blocks and get wet. Chain department stores, where goods not in stock can be ordered from a very full line of samples, will probably soon be as easy of access as chain grocery stores now are. Few women in the Bronx, Brooklyn, or Yonkers would go down to Thirty-third Street if they could handle all the new goods to their heart's content a mile or two from home. Then, too, the telephone, the radio and the coming television bring the isolated home, the village, the suburb and the city all equally near to one another and to recreation.

The result of all this is that today even the owner of an isolated house twenty miles from a city of a hundred thousand people can have almost as many conveniences as the dweller in a mammoth apartment house in a great city. He can get to town for business or pleasure as quickly as can the dweller in Brooklyn, Queens or the South Side of Chicago. And of course he is far safer from burglars and thugs. Almost the only thing that he cannot get so easily is service. Maids still live in the Dark Ages when city life was supposed to be ideal.

THE person in or near the small city has other advantages connected with the growing leisure given by our increasing command of machinery. We are learning at last that the art of *living* is quite as important as the art of *getting a living*. What are we going to do with our spare time? Go to dances, play golf or bridge, cultivate a garden, go in for tennis, boating or some other sport, enjoy music or art, study nature, read, go to the movies, or just see our friends? Whichever of these we prefer the advantages are almost wholly on the side of the small city and especially of its outer or suburban parts. I mean by this the parts where people live in their own homes or perhaps in many-windowed apartment houses, but where all the dwellings stand by themselves, near enough to be sociable but far enough apart to give room for gardens, lawns and trees. Such surroundings are by far the best from the stand-





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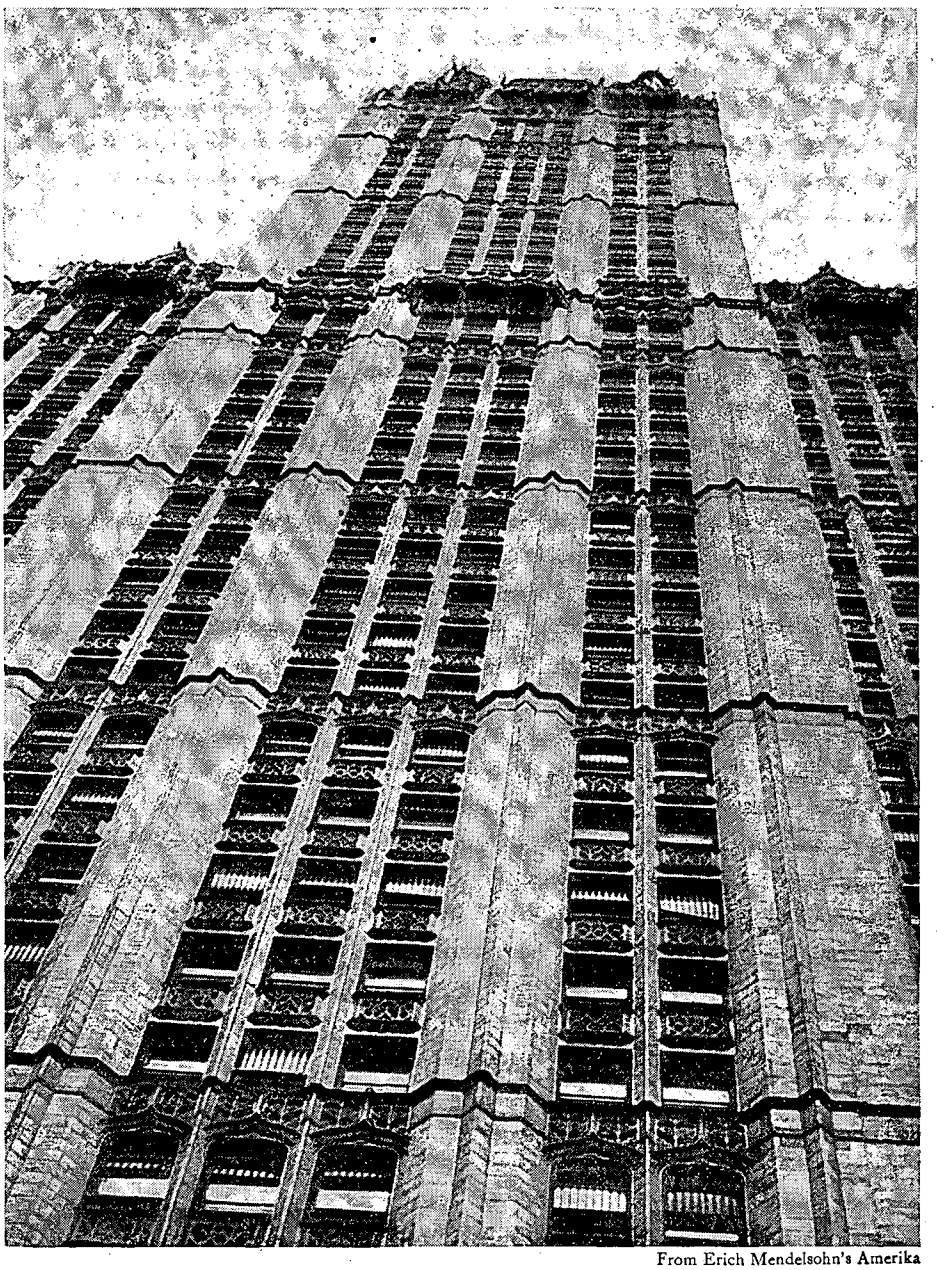
point of health, morality, efficiency and pleasant social contacts. Even serving maids and cooks do not wholly despise them.

The number of people who live in such surroundings is growing rapidly. To use my own situation once more as an example, from 1920 to 1930 the population of the city of New Haven remained practically stationary at 162,000. Yet Hamden, where I live, and which is classed as "rural" by the census, increased from about 8000 to 20,000. Many other suburbs not only of New Haven but all over the country increased similarly. Never, probably, in any other time or place did suburban life increase so rapidly. Along all our highways one-family houses are springing up in great numbers far out from the cities and often with no public means of conveyance. They are being built not only by persons of comfortable means but by clerks, carpenters and laborers; and these people are driving ten or twenty miles to work. Almost every technical advance in motor transportation, road-building, means of communication, chain-store merchandising, the art of itinerant vendors, the heating or refrigeration of houses, the disposal of sewage and many another line helps the suburban or semi-rural people more than it helps the apartment-house dweller in the great cities. The closed automobile was one of the greatest of all boons to the suburbs.

Then, again, the city is never going to have any such charm for the present suburban and rural generation as it had for an earlier generation. Yet it is the suburban and rural people who have the children. In five years the number of children of school age in New Haven declined about one thousand, but the corresponding number in the suburbs increased rapidly. Children who grow up in suburbs and villages with motor-cars always at their disposal are very unlikely to want to live in the congested parts of cities when they have children of their own. What all this has to do with the real-estate business I shall not attempt to say, but obviously with the immense choice of pleasant locations which modern transportation affords, the price of house-lots cannot rise so fast as in the past. On the other hand the rapidly growing appreciation of beauty is lending additional value to pretty hills, views over water and vistas through trees.

Because of all this it may be that the growth of vast crowded cities with towering skyscrapers, mammoth apartment houses, deep tunnels, roaring elevated railways, dusty, smoky air, and hurrying pushing crowds has reached its zenith. Already we see the turn of the tide in the rapid expansion of many cities. New York as a metropolitan area will presumably become far more populous than now, but its people and even its business may be thinly spread over perhaps ten times as great an area. There will still be nuclei of commercial and industrial congestion, but the mere fact of congestion will diminish the value of the place for new kinds of business. Many a business which is now in the heart of a large city is likely some day to maintain only a head office there. It may establish a hundred chain stores instead of one central store. Or it may move its factory to some cheap site miles away. There hills perhaps make the land of little value for agriculture but provide an ideal setting for homes and allow plenty of room for expansion. A little slope and some curves do not bother trucks the way they do railroads and gyroscopic airplanes will scarcely mind hills at all. The change to this widely scattered type of city will probably be as revolutionary as the change from the cities of a century ago, where horsecars were an innovation, to those



From Erich Mendelsohn's Amerika

"No competent architect would plan skyscrapers today unless he could set each one apart by itself." The Woolworth Building, once a New York boast

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The American city is essentially the result of the hallucinations of industrial and economic efficiency which we mistake for civic vision. — C. A.

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of today where the children think that horses are "steered," and scarcely know what a horsecar is.

We must now inquire in what part of the country this new type of diffuse city will grow fastest. The answer depends largely on the fact that by far the greatest increase in our population is likely to consist of people engaged in manufacturing articles which now are considered luxuries. Even when we have two hundred million people we are not likely to need much more than the present number of farmers, miners, lumbermen, fishermen, and persons engaged in manufacturing and distributing staples like food, clothing and fuel. Technical improvements and a revision of our present wasteful methods of distribution will probably in due time enable the present number of workers in these fields to accomplish at least 50 per cent more than now. The number of people engaged in the building trades will doubtless increase while we are remodelling our suburban cities, but then it will sink because the population will presumably cease to grow rapidly.

Thus most of the additional sixty million or more persons whom we may expect in this country will presumably find their work in transportation, in professional work including scientific research, in personal or governmental service especially in the fields of recreation, health and comfort, and above all in the more complex types of manufacturing. This means the production of goods like the radio, airplane, refrigerating machines, fancy dress-goods, sporting goods, books, jewelry, instruments of precision, complicated machinery, appliances for making household work easier (a field wherein we may expect almost unlimited development), and artistic goods of all sorts. The increasing consumption of such luxuries by all classes is a delicate index of a rising standard of living.

THE overwhelming bulk of this kind of manufacturing is now limited to a small area. It is found along the Atlantic Seaboard from Portland to Baltimore, inland to the Great Lakes especially along the Mohawk Valley and on the actual shores of the lakes, and it is developing on the Pacific Coast, especially in the north. Its distribution is like that of the most favorable conditions for cattle, hens, vegetables and fruits. Apparently the fundamental reason is the same in both cases. The kind of climate which favors the highest yields of milk, eggs and vegetables is also the most healthful and stimulating for men. Extensive statistical and experimental studies show that people's health is best and their physical activity and comfort are greatest when the outside temperature averages about 63 degrees for night and day together, so that at midday the thermometer rises to about 70 degrees. Studies of mental activity, however, such as students' marks, civil-service examinations and applications for patents show that the minds of persons who live our kind of protected life work best when the outside temperature averages about 40 degrees and there are mild frosts at night. Thus the best climate so far as temperature alone is concerned is one where the three or four warmer months average about 63 degrees and the three or four colder months about 40 degrees.

Changes of temperature during shorter intervals are also highly important. Extremes of temperature such as are common in the center of this country, are harmful both physically and mentally. Moderate variations of weather from day to day, however, are highly advantageous, as appears clearly in the study of deaths made by the Committee on the Atmosphere and Man of the National Research Council. In the northeastern quarter of the country from Iowa to New England and New Jersey such changes largely compensate for the extremes of temperature. Thus from the standpoint of health and of ability to work steadily and effectively this region, especially the parts near the ocean or the Great Lakes, has a climate unrivalled except along the Pacific Coast and in regions like those around the North Sea in Europe.

The development of civilization with its intensely complex industrial, financial and social organization creates an ever increasing demand for the highest degree of health and fitness on the part of the workers. In a country like China materials are more costly and important than human labor. That is why the Chinese paint beautiful designs on boards so thin that they crack at the first strain, or sew exquisite embroidery on the sleasiest kind of cloth. Among us the opposite is true. The work that goes into making an automobile and into preparing its materials is immensely more valuable than are the mere raw materials themselves. Hence the most fundamental requirement in the more complex and difficult kinds of manufacturing is efficient and reliable workers.

IT is in this respect that climates like those of New York, Chicago, Seattle, London and Berlin differ especially from those of places like Bombay, Rio de Janeiro, New Orleans or even Naples and Stalingrad. The case is like that of cattle and hens. Man works best under certain optimum conditions of climate. Other conditions, such as raw materials, fuels, labor, markets, transportation or the mere accident of an early start may cause industries to be located in places where the climate is not especially favorable. As time goes on, however, the importance of these other factors generally diminishes. Transportation becomes cheaper and easier; the cost of cheap labor tends to rise until it may actually be more expensive than well-paid labor; the value of an early start steadily diminishes. Thus little by little the higher forms of human activity tend to be concentrated more and more in the places where people are most efficient. In the long run climate is the greatest of all environmental factors in determining where this efficiency is greatest.

Hitherto our adaptation of ourselves and our activities to climate has been more or less unconscious, although it has been very close. Search where you will, you cannot find any important development of highly complex manufacturing or scientific investigation except in a good climate or under the direct management of people who come from such a climate. In the future we may expect our adaptation to climate to assume a more conscious form. Already we choose both our summer and winter resorts mainly for their climate. In the winter Florida and Southern California have great weight in national affairs because so many able people go there. But factories cannot move from place to place with the seasons, and neither can banks or universities with any convenience.

Therefore as man becomes more free to choose his working places, we shall probably see an increasing concentration of the more complex forms of industry, as well as of science, art, literature, political prestige and general social leadership in the regions where the climate of the year as a whole gives the greatest advantages. Thus the North Atlantic Coast, the shores of the Great Lakes and the adjacent regions together with the narrow mild strip on the Pacific Coast bid fair to do much more than hold their own. They will apparently be the most desirable places both for highly intensive agriculture and also for the growth of cities. In fact the widespread cities of the future may there crowd out agriculture in large sections.

In these new cities the densely crowded business sections will, we suppose, be of limited size. Huge areas will be given over to attractive suburban dwellings set among gardens and lawns.

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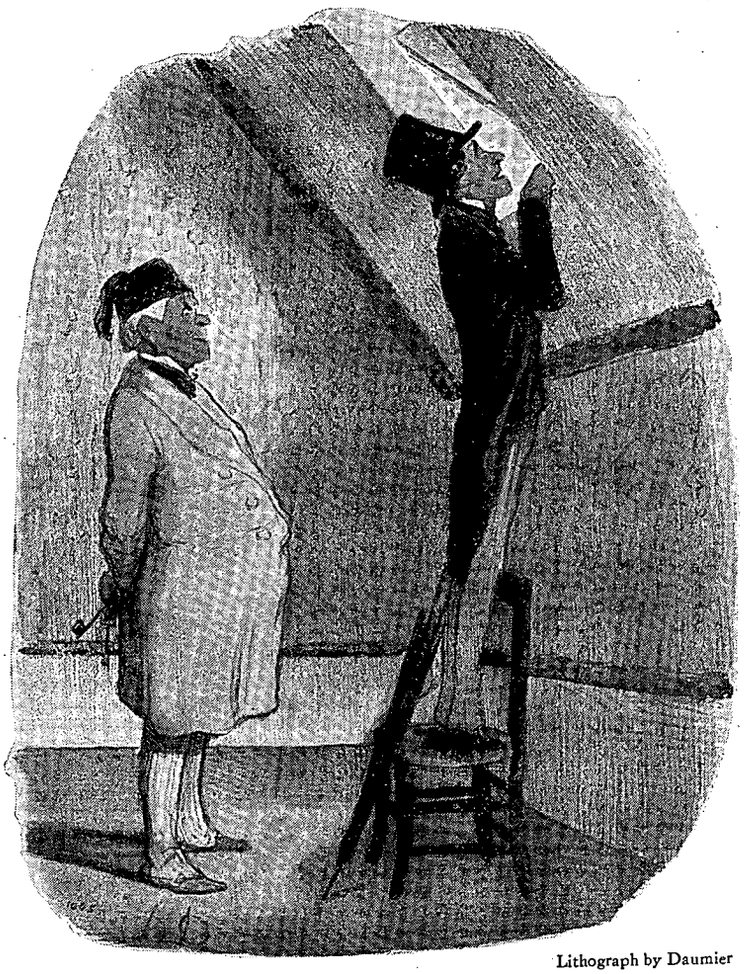
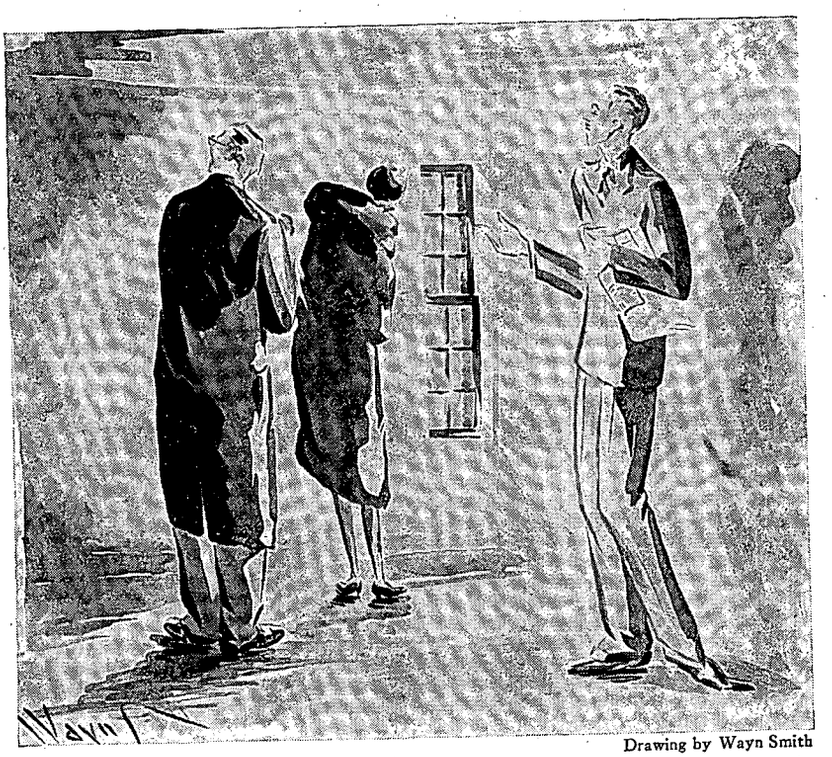
A Little Lesson in Progress



Lithograph by Daumier

Seventy years ago
it was the garret—

LANDLORD: *You couldn't ask for a better view*



Drawing by Wayn Smith

And now—

AGENT: *Each luxurious apartment has a magnificent window*

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Food and Folks From the Hinterland

By O. E. BAKER

BEFORE the days of the railroad and the steamship most of the people were engaged in agriculture and those who were not did not live far from their food supply. Philadelphia was the largest city in the United States in colonial times principally because back of it was located the most extensive area of fertile farm land east of the Appalachians. Baltimore's early development was also owing in large measure to this same good hinterland. In China today the cities with few exceptions are the center of a hinterland the radius of which is roughly the distance that food can be carried by wheelbarrow or cart at a reasonable cost. The richer the soil within this circle, in general, the larger the city.

DURING the past century advances in transportation in the Occident have abolished, in large measure, this relationship between the size of the city and the immediate hinterland, except where it is maintained by tariffs, embargoes, quotas and other artificial barriers. Within the United States and the British Empire, the two largest political units in the world which are free or mostly free from internal restrictions on trade, the cities have developed without much regard to the adjacent areas, except for perishable products. It is necessary to consider only the breakfast table in order to realize how remote the source of the food supply has become as a result of transportation developments during the century. The orange comes from California or Florida or, in the case of the Englishman's breakfast, from South Africa or Australia. The cereal and the wheat flour in the bread come from Kansas or the Dakotas or, in the case of the English breakfast, more likely from Saskatchewan or New South Wales. The coffee comes from Brazil, or Colombia, perhaps; the tea from India, Ceylon or Japan; and the sugar from Colorado, Cuba or Hawaii or, for the Englishman, from Java or Germany. Only the egg and the milk are likely to be produced nearby, while the feed to produce both eggs and milk may have been grown in the wheat or surplus corn-producing states of the Central West.

The distribution of population in the Occident is no longer determined by the food supply. Transportation is so cheap that it has become a minor factor in making up the retail price of most foods. The cost of food to the consumer is not very different in New York from that in Chicago or San Francisco.

IMPROVEMENTS in transportation alone do not account for this wide separation of the consumer from the producer of food. Advances in agricultural technique have been another essential factor. In China probably three fourths of the people live on farms, and in the United States a century ago at least two thirds lived on farms. In 1930 the farm population of the United States constituted only 25 per cent of the total. A century ago American farmers fed a non-farm population possibly half the size of the farm population; now the non-farm population is three times as large as the farm population. Relatively the surplus above farm consumption has increased sixfold.

Including other farm products than food, principally cotton, tobacco, flax and wool, it appears that the surplus above farm consumption has increased about eightfold during the century. This should not be confused with agricultural production per year of labor employed, that is, the productivity of the farm worker, which has increased only two and a half or, possibly, threefold. The industrial revolution and development of the cities during the past century and a half was accompanied by and partly caused by the revolution in agricultural technique.

THE advances in transportation and in agricultural technique, although they have greatly diminished the dependence of a city on its immediate hinterland, have not diminished the influence of the physical conditions upon agricultural production, but rather have increased their importance. In the old era of self-sufficing farming wheat and flax, for example, were grown on farms in nearly every locality to provide flour and linen for the farm families, but now their production is concentrated in those regions where the physical conditions are most favorable—principally in the sub-humid to semi-arid grassland regions of the world. Moreover, cotton has largely replaced linen, and the flax crop is now grown principally for its oil rather than its fibre. Even dairying has tended to concentrate in certain regions having a cool, moderately moist climate, where it is easier to keep milk cool than in warmer climates, where the pastures remain green during a fairly long season, and where dairying affords profitable winter work. The commercialization of agriculture has compelled the adjustments between the physical conditions and improvements in transportation and technique to be made with alacrity.

The commercialization of agriculture has been greatly facilitated by the mechanization which has so increased the surplus of products above the needs of the farm population. But this mechanization, that is, for the purposes of this discussion, the use of complex machinery in place of the simple implements of a century ago, is by no means complete. Nearly all the cotton is picked by hand as it was a century ago, most of the corn is husked or snapped by hand and all of the fruit is picked by hand. The plows and

CITIES are no longer dependent on their immediate hinterland for food—breakfast in New York comes across a continent. But if cities are to grow or even hold their own in population, they must draw on the fertile farm families. The city man of the future will be the transplanted son of a southern mountaineer, a small cotton-belt farmer, a hill-farmer along the Ohio, a Mormon from Utah or Idaho. The melting-pot must keep at its task.

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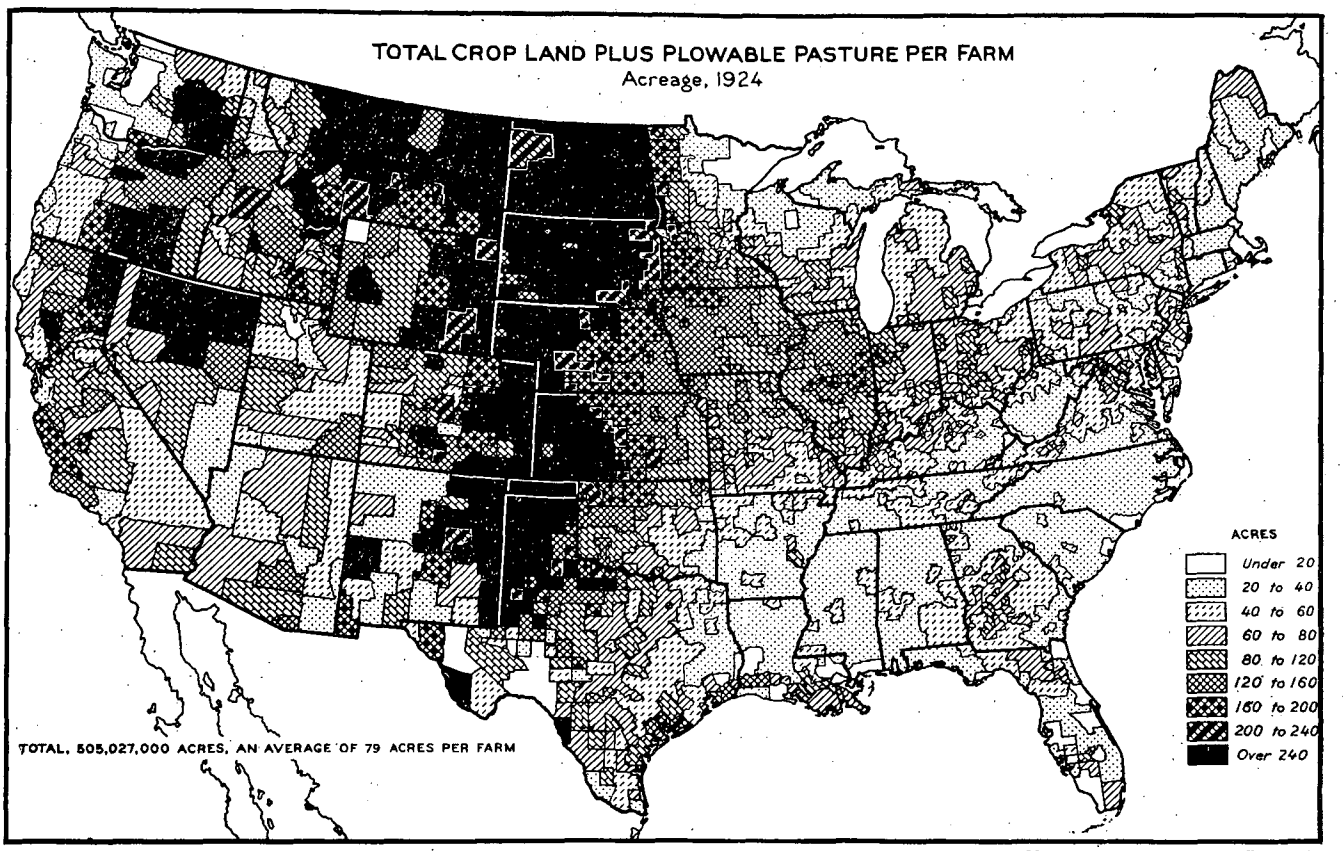
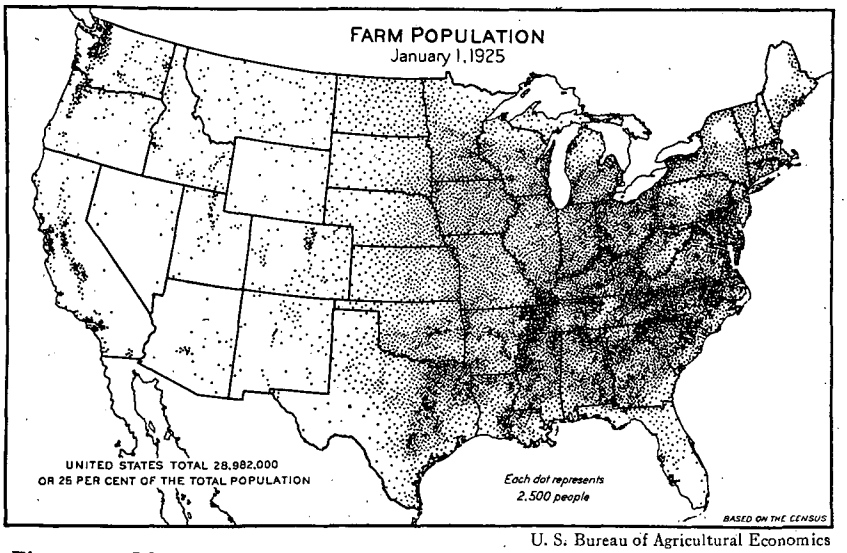


U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Figure 1. The revolution in agricultural technique with resultant increase in acreage and production per worker has greatly affected scarcely half the farms in North America

cultivators used on many cotton and corn farms are very simple. These crops require fully half the labor put on all crops in the United States. It is principally with the small-grain and hay crops and in milking cows that mechanization has been widely applied. Half the farms produce products, including those consumed by the farm family, having a value of less than $1000. In 1850 the average area of improved land per farm was seventy-eight acres and in 1920 the average was the same. By 1930, however, it was about eighty-seven acres. This almost stationary acreage per farm prior to the recent rapid mechanization in the Great Plains Region is owing in part to the increase in specialized fruit and truck farms, which involve an intensive use of a small acreage, and in part to the recent increase in small, almost suburban farms along the good roads. This increase in small farms offsets in part the increase in large farms. But probably in larger part the stationary average size of farms in the nation as a whole prior to the last decade was owing to the small change which had occurred in methods of production on many farms over a large part of the United States.

In almost every county of the Cotton Belt from eastern Texas to southeastern Virginia there are less than forty acres of crop land plus plowable pasture per farm, and this is true also of most counties in the southern Appalachians (West Virginia and south), of New England excluding Vermont and northern Maine, of the northern portion of the Lakes States, and of western Oregon and Washington. (See Figure 1.) In the eastern Corn Belt (Ohio and Indiana) there are on the average only 60 to 80 acres of crops and plowable pasture per farm. On the other hand, in the Great Plains Region where grain production and grazing are the principal types of farming, there are over 200 acres of crop land plus plowable pasture per farm, and in more than half the counties of the Plains the average farm has over 240 acres. Corn-picking machines such as are used in the western Corn Belt could treble the acreage of corn per farm or per worker in the eastern Corn Belt, and cotton-picking machinery, apparently approaching practicability, could quadruple the acreage of cotton per worker in the Cotton Belt; but the introduction of these machines, which are expensive, may need to await a rise in the prices



U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Figure 2. Most of our bread, meat and grain comes from regions of large farms and sparse population. Compare this map with that above

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of corn and cotton and improvement in the general economic situation. Scarcely half the farms in the United States have as yet adopted those machines and practices that are generally thought of as constituting the revolution in agricultural technique.

It is not enough to provide for the going and coming in and out of our communities. We must provide for the comforts of staying within the same communities.—C. A.

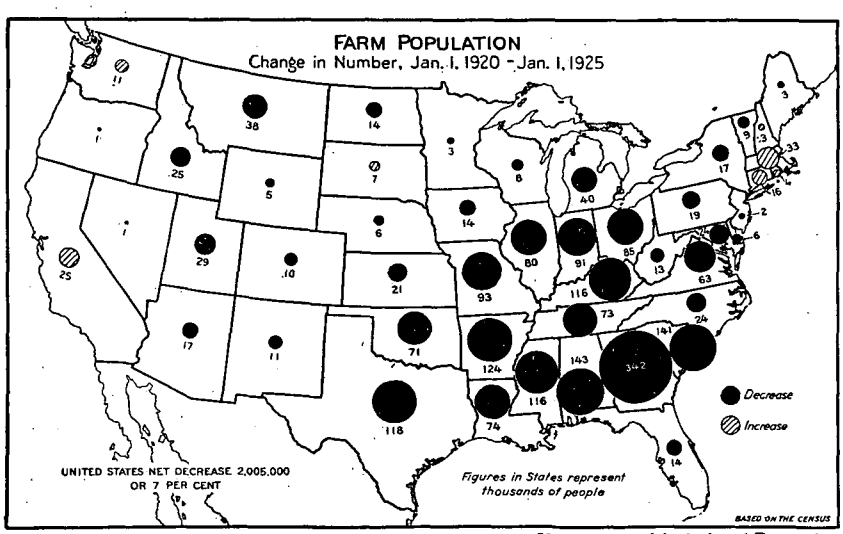
IN the United States there exist rural areas comparable with India and China in density of population per thousand acres of arable land and in degree of poverty. On the other hand, there are rural areas with as large acreage and production per worker as exist anywhere in the world. In eastern Kentucky and much of West Virginia, for example, the average area of crops per farm is only about ten acres, three fourths of which is in corn yielding less than twenty bushels an acre; whereas in Iowa and eastern Nebraska the average crop area per farm is 100 to 150 acres, nearly half of which is in corn yielding forty bushels per acre. If most of the land were in crops in eastern Kentucky, as it is in parts of China, there would be 250 to 400 people per square mile of land area which would be as dense as in some of the densest populated provinces of China. But only 5 to 15 per cent of the land is in crops in eastern Kentucky, owing to the mountainous topography. Nevertheless, there are about twice as many farming people per square mile of total land area in eastern Kentucky as in Iowa, where most of the land is in crops, and four times as many as in Nebraska or Kansas. Moreover, there are nearly two children under ten years of age per farm in eastern Kentucky as compared with only about one child of this age per farm in Iowa. Population pressure is a grim reality in the southern Appalachians, and this is true in only lesser degree of much of the rural South.

The densest farm population in the United States (relative to total land area) is in certain parts of the southern Appalachian Region just described, in the upper Piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, in the Yazoo Delta of Mississippi, in western Tennessee, and along the Ohio River. (Figure 2.) Farm population is relatively sparse in Illinois, Iowa and eastern Nebraska, where the soils are as rich as any in the world, and the value of farm products per square mile is many-fold greater than in the southern Appalachians, or in most counties of the Piedmont, or those along the Ohio River.

In the same climatic zone and type of farming, the largest farms (in terms of crop land plus plowable pasture) are, in general, in the regions of richest soils. Rich soils not only produce more than poor soils, but they also attract capital as well as capable farm operators. These capable men tend to expand their holdings. But most of the bread and the meat eaten by the city people, and the grain to make the milk they consume, come from the regions of rich soils, of relatively large commercial farms, and of sparse population. One third of the farms of the United States produce at least three fourths and probably seven eighths of the food sent from farms to the cities.

ALTHOUGH the cities of the United States are no longer dependent upon the hinterland for their sustenance but mostly upon commercial farms frequently hundreds and even thousands of miles away, the cities are becoming increasingly dependent upon the hinterland for such young people, if any, as may be needed to labor in the factories, stores and offices.

Moreover, the food for the cities may come very largely from regions of rich soils, but such people as are needed to carry on urban labor probably will come mostly from regions of poor to fair soils. (Figure 3.) On the farms of eastern Kentucky in 1930 there were 700 to 900 children under five years of age per 1000 women of child-bearing age (15 to 44 years old) as compared with 500 on the farms of Iowa and Nebraska. It requires about 370 children per 1000 women of child-bearing age to maintain population stationary when the expectation of life at birth is sixty years, as it is in the United States at present. The farms of eastern Kentucky are producing 100 per cent more children and the farms of Iowa and Nebraska 33 per cent more children than are needed to maintain their present population. For the farm population of the United States as a whole there are (1930) about 545 children under five per 1000 women of child-bearing age, which is about 50 per cent more than are needed to maintain that population stationary. In the non-farm rural population (village people mostly) there is a surplus of nearly 30 per cent. (Figure 4.)


FARM POPULATION
Change in Number, Jan. 1, 1920 - Jan. 1, 1925
Decrease
Increase
UNITED STATES NET DECREASE 2,005,000
OR 7 PER CENT
Figures in States represent thousands of people
BASED ON THE CENSUS

U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Figure 3. Those who leave the farm for the city come mostly from regions of poor to fair soils

BUT the small cities,—those from 2500 to 100,000 population,—have only 341 children under five years old per 1000 women of child-bearing age, and lack therefore nearly 10 per cent of having enough children to maintain population stationary without accretions from elsewhere; and in the large cities there are on the average only 293 children under five per 1000 women of child-bearing age, which is a deficit of about 22 per cent. If the restrictions on immigration continue, most cities will be dependent upon migration from the rural regions not only to maintain their population but even to prevent a decline. After one to three decades, in several cities deaths now exceed births.

Urban deficit and rural surplus just about balance at present—that is, if the birthrate falls no farther and immigrants balance emigrants, the population of the nation will remain about stationary after a rise to 140,000,000 or 150,000,000, the increase being caused by the large

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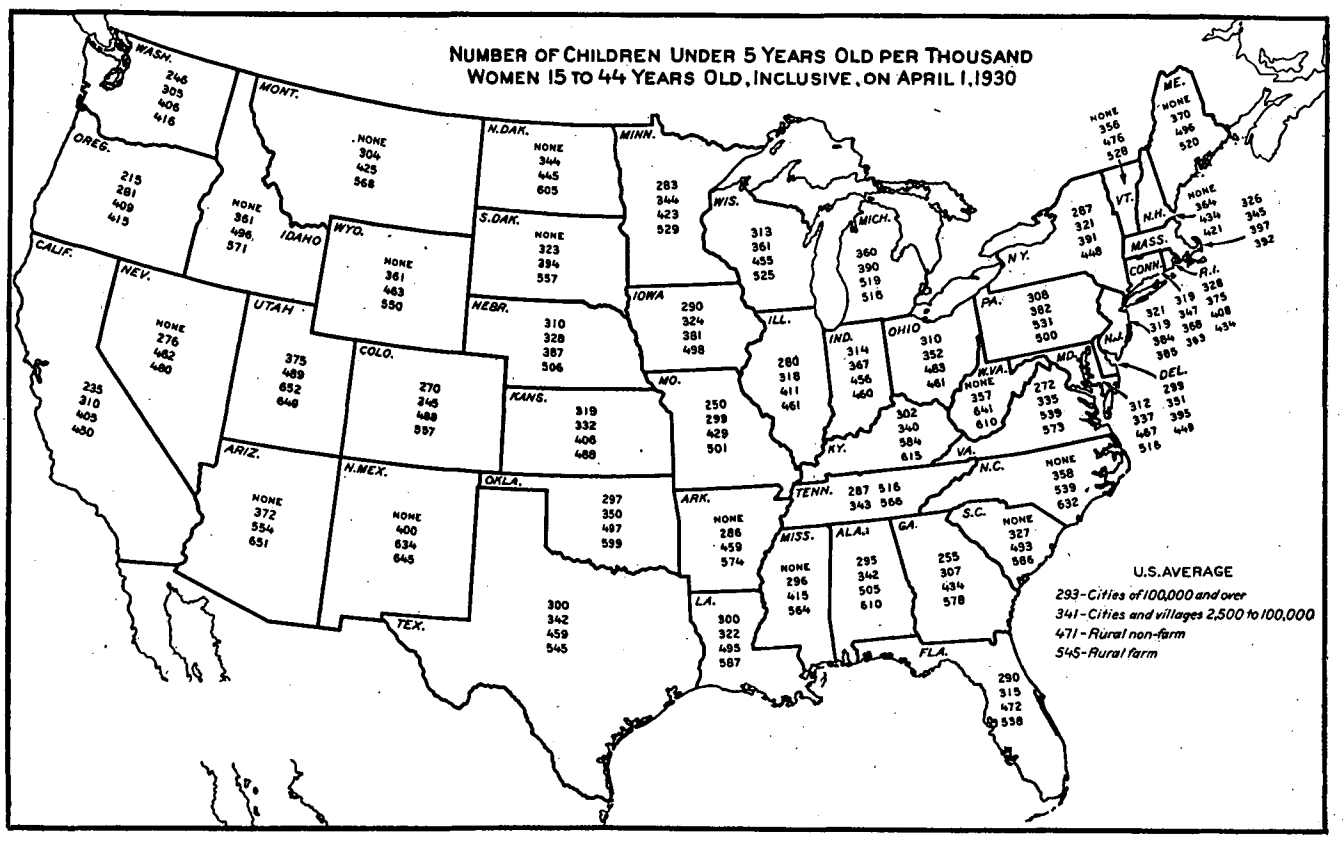

U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Figure 4. There are about 50 per cent more children under 5 per 1000 women 15 to 44 years old on farms than is needed to maintain the farm population stationary but fully 20 per cent fewer children than necessary in cities

numbers of young people who will not die for several decades. But the trend of the birthrate is downward, the decline during the decade in ratio of children under five to women of child-bearing age having been 19 per cent in the large cities, (the heaviest decline occurring in the foreign stock), 15 per cent in the small cities, and less than 11 per cent in the rural population. Although it will be several decades at least before the farm population of the nation as a whole fails to produce a "surplus" of children, this surplus may not suffice for long, in the absence of immigration, to prevent a decline in the urban population, unless agricultural technique advances rapidly and, as a consequence, migration from farm to city increases. Such depletion of the farm population, however, will hasten urban decline in population later.

Apparently, the people who will provide the surplus youth to the cities will be principally the mountaineers of the southern Appalachians, the small farmers of the Cotton Belt, the hill folks along the Ohio River and its tributaries, the Mormons of Utah and Idaho, and other small or more or less self-sufficing farmers who have been partially isolated by their environment or other conditions from the influences of modern urban civilization.

Some of these regions will increase in population more rapidly than other portions of the nation, but some may decrease, for the migration of young people from the farms to the cities is fluid. However, wages have been lower in these regions of surplus population than elsewhere, and if this condition persists and other costs of manufacturing and distribution are no higher, this cheap labor, which is also efficient, is very likely to promote the further development of industry.

Another class of territory which will tend to increase in population is that which attracts the wealthy and the old. It seems safe to assume that wealth will increase again after the depression, and that the old will increase rapidly in number during the next few decades—persons over sixty-five increased 34 per cent between 1920 and 1930. Regions having a pleasant climate, beautiful scenery and recreational facilities, are likely to increase in population long after the decline begins in some less attractive parts of the nation.

RECENTLY a slight reversal has occurred in the drift of the surplus farm population toward the city. Thousands of unemployed, with their families, have sought shelter and sustenance with relatives or friends on farms. They are not needed on the farms, for there is already a vast surplus of farm products. The prices of wheat and cotton, for example, are lower than for decades. Most of these migrants from the cities have little or no capital and many lack farm experience. They can scarcely hope, therefore, to become commercial farmers for many years if ever. Their destiny instead is generally accepted to be self-sufficing farming, which may develop later in some cases into part-time farming.

Part-time farming was increasing rapidly prior to the economic depression. The interurban car lines and the automobile and autobus have made it possible for many thousands of homes to be established on an acre or two of land along the good roads near the cities, both large and small. Some of these small places produce $250 worth of garden truck, eggs and, occasionally, milk, thus meeting the census definition of a farm. Farms "where the operator spent (*Continued on page* 488)

The stream of traffic may be a measure of movement of men and goods, but it is not a measure of progress.—C. A.

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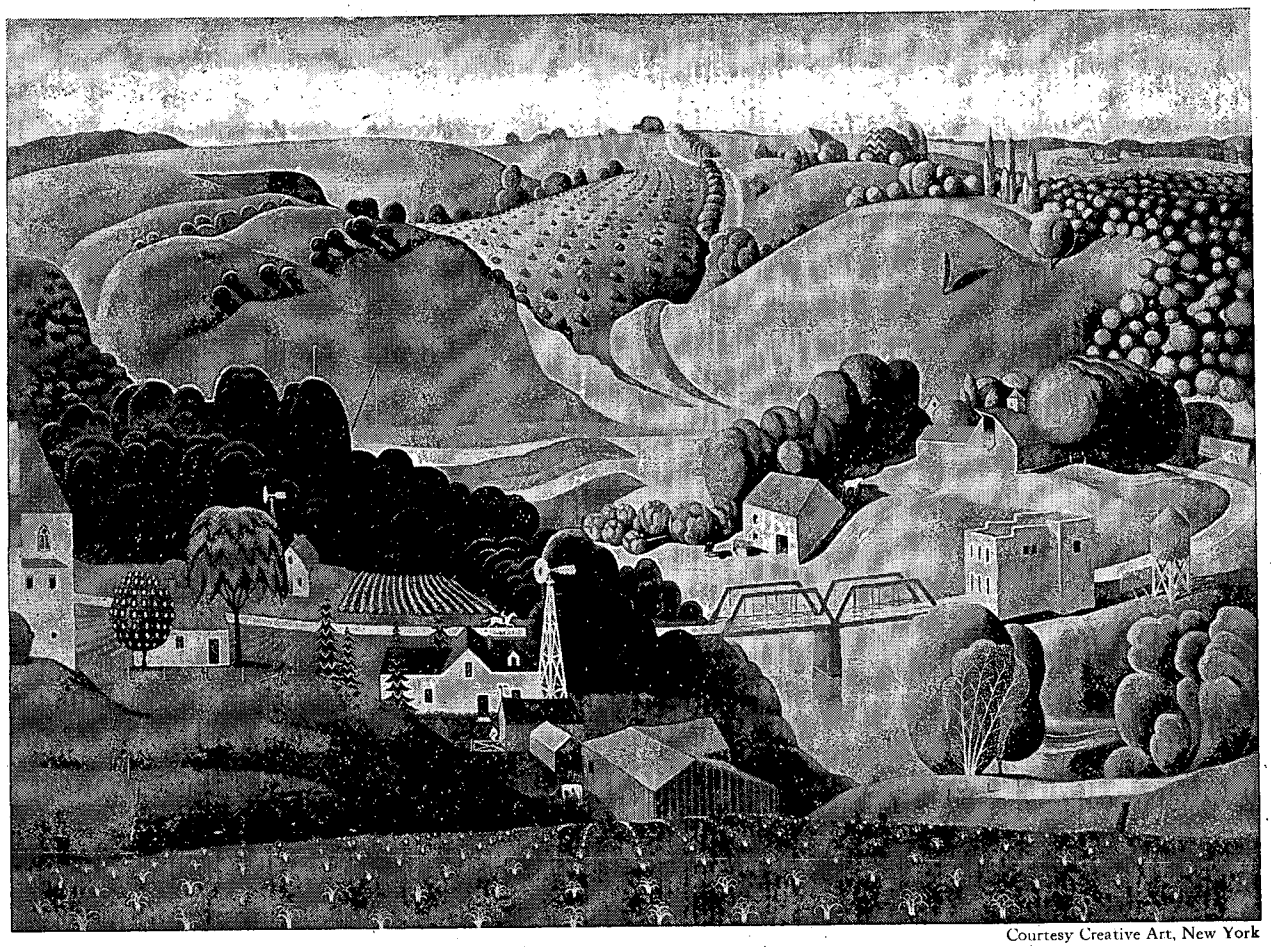

Courtesy Creative Art, New York

Country village. By Grant Wood

Cycle of the City

Its three economic stages

Pioneering
Exploitation
Obsolescence

Here demonstrated in three
recent American paintings

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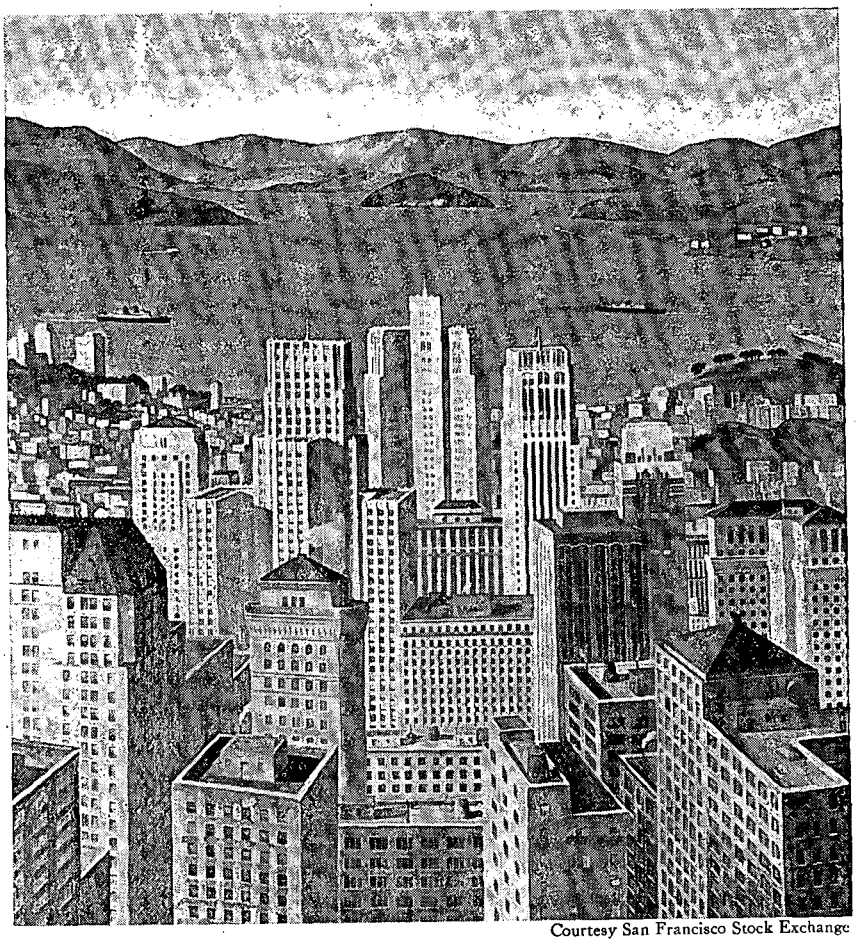
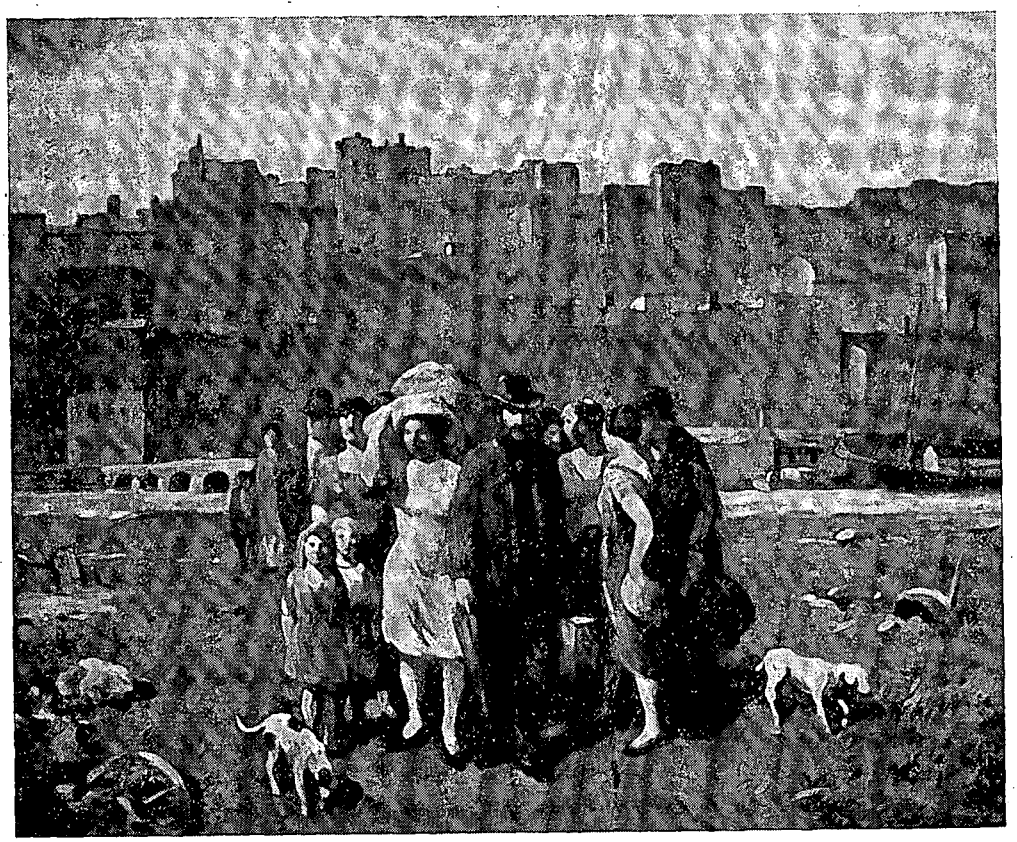


Courtesy San Francisco Stock Exchange

Contrast between the city and its natural site

By Edward Bruce



The Exodus

By Robert Spencer

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National Arteriosclerosis

By ROBERT A. LESHER

HOW old are you? What you record on your employment blank, marriage certificate, passport, or are in the habit of giving to the census-taker makes little difference according to the medical profession. You are as old as your arteries.

How old is your community? What you have learned from the oldest residents or what is recorded in the local historical society makes little difference according to the first working principle of any reputable city-planner or municipal engineer. *Your community is as old as its arteries of traffic for the free and continuous flow of persons, building materials, freight, water, garbage, waste and sewage.*

How old is the United States? What you learned in school, heard from the public platform, extracted from a modern bestseller with historic background, or are permitted, only occasionally and then with difficulty, to pick out of the press or off the air makes little difference according to the recent convictions of a few technically trained authorities who have sacrificed much to study the national problem. The United States is as old as its present arteries of transport to provide free movement between our tremendous natural resources in the form of tillable soils, mines, wells, quarries, forests and fishable waters on the one hand, and a rapidly concentrating population in a few cities with sluggish local circulations which are removed at great distance from the mere necessities of life, on the other.

In other words, you, your community, and your country are living things. Your personal health depends upon the circulation of blood. The health of your community depends upon a free flow of traffic within and through its street, trolley, railroad, subway, gas, electric, sewage and water systems.

Just as you must be functionally related to your home and its conveniences, so must your house and place of business be related to the community and its facilities. As the community is a living aggregate of all of our homes, places of business and recreation, it should constantly function to permit you and me to meet our needs instantly in our adjustment to life. To the same degree the nation at large is but a living aggregate of all our communities, centers of industry, national parks and spas, and should function constantly to permit our communities to enjoy that health which is so essential to us who, in turn, comprise the community and must maintain our health in its atmosphere.

But signs of disease already are in evidence. Just as we are unaware that the air in a room is bad until we go out in the open, so are we unaware that the atmosphere, condition and facilities of our community are bad until we go into other better organized communities.

In the human body the arteries, veins and capillaries constitute our circulatory system. The blood is the medium. The red corpuscles are the vehicles for oxygen; the white corpuscles are the armored vehicles and vessels carrying our police, militia, national guard, marines, soldiers and sailors of bodily defense; and the serum, in which these two corpuscles float, is the joint water and food supply and waste medium. A nervous system is registering instantly the relative needs of various parts of the body and stimulating or retarding the processes so that it can function as an integrated and responsive whole.

In the body of the nation the arteries and veins are our highways, railroads, rivers and canals. The capillaries are the street systems within our cities. The corpuscles are the vehicles on land and water and now in the air, in the form of buses, trucks, freight and passenger cars, ships of every description, river barges, canal boats and planes. The national nervous system is comprised of our telephone, telegraph, mail and radio services through which we attempt to integrate the whole.

But our highways are under as many controls as there are municipalities, counties, states and departments and bureaus of our governmental system.

OUR railroads are under as many jurisdictions as there are names of railroad systems, state railroad commissions and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Our rivers and lakes are under as many policies as there are settlements along their banks and shores plus the corps of engineers, the Board for Rivers and Harbors, the Hydrographic Office, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Mississippi River Commission and a number of international agencies. Our buses are under as many directors as there are bus companies, public service and state commissions regulating them. Our trucks are under as many managements as there are individual trucking concerns, private businesses owning their own trucks, and railroads rendering a truck in addition to a rail service. Our ships, steamers and barges are under as many methods of conduct as there are shipping and inland waterway concerns doing business on salt and fresh water plus a number of regulatory agencies of the federal government.

In short there is no integration, no brain, no national plan. There is, however, regulation and plenty of it. But it is all negative. It is another kind of prohibition which we, as a nation, seem to be so fond of. Under the name of free competition we bootleg any kind of service that will produce a profit. The effect of this national intoxication shows up in the tissues of our communities. Not only are we suffering from bad air in our cities, but also from the effects of uncoordinated local transportation services, the management of which cares nothing, in its search for profits, about the ill effects upon the community as a whole which its operations entail. This condition of auto-intoxication is being rapidly followed by local congestion. Our street-system capillaries, once adequate but now too narrow and inelastic to permit the larger flow of persons and goods, are backing up the circulation. Local blood pressure is in evidence. Our main arteries are beginning to harden for want of a circulation

THE age of a city or a nation is the age of its means of transportation. If the highroads, streets, railroads harden, city and nation are sick. The red light Stop! is the symbol of our traffic. How turn it to green?

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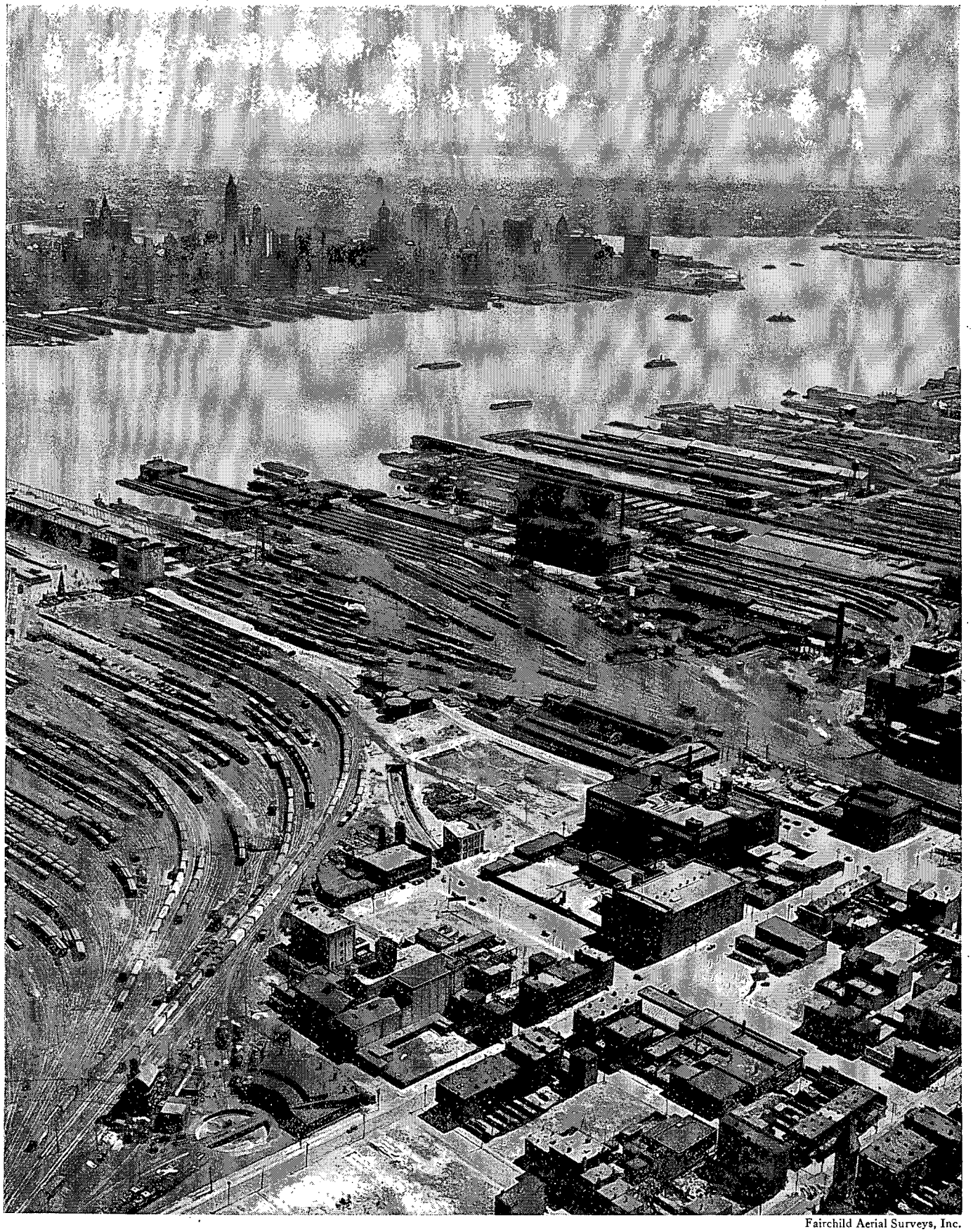

Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.

PART OF THE BILL OF LADING

Freight destined for New England is routed through the main terminal in congested New York

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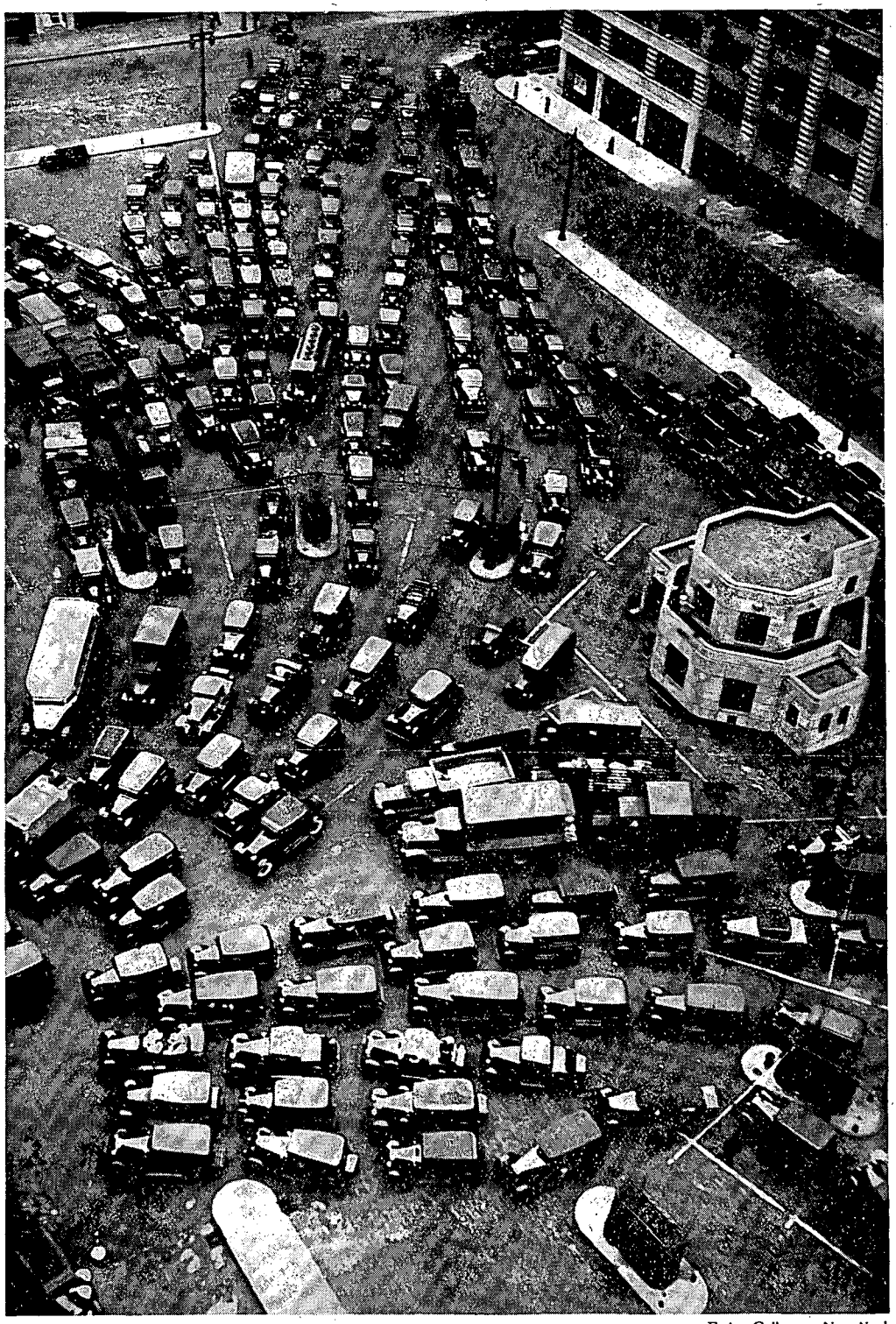

Ewing Galloway, New York

Our street-system capillaries, now too narrow and inelastic to permit the larger flow of persons and goods, are backing up the circulation.

Instead of the great convenience which it is, the automobile is rapidly becoming the Frankenstein of the economics of city building—C. A.

of traffic. We are in danger of national arteriosclerosis.

The main arteries of transport must pass through each community. Their very nature and size indicate their importance. These are the main highways, railroads, river or canal in any given community. These main streams of traffic must be filtered through the community by means of local bus, truck, trolley and subway services. The junctions of these capillary services with the main arteries are our passenger stations; our freight stations, yards, and private sidings to industry; our wharves, piers and docks; and our local airports. The location, design, layout and equipment of these connections for the complete, rapid and economical interchange of passengers and freight in order to permit the traffic of the main arteries to flow freely through the community are of first importance. The lack of interest in the community by those owning or controlling these vital services, who are almost always located at great distances from it (as in the case with railroad directors or presidents), throws the task of immediately correcting the situation back upon the community itself.

What do these generalizations mean specifically? They mean that under our present system of private enterprise, the largest of our American cities located at the terminals of our railway systems, and our large and small communities which are strung like beads on our main threads of transport, are becoming costly ornaments of our industrial apparel.

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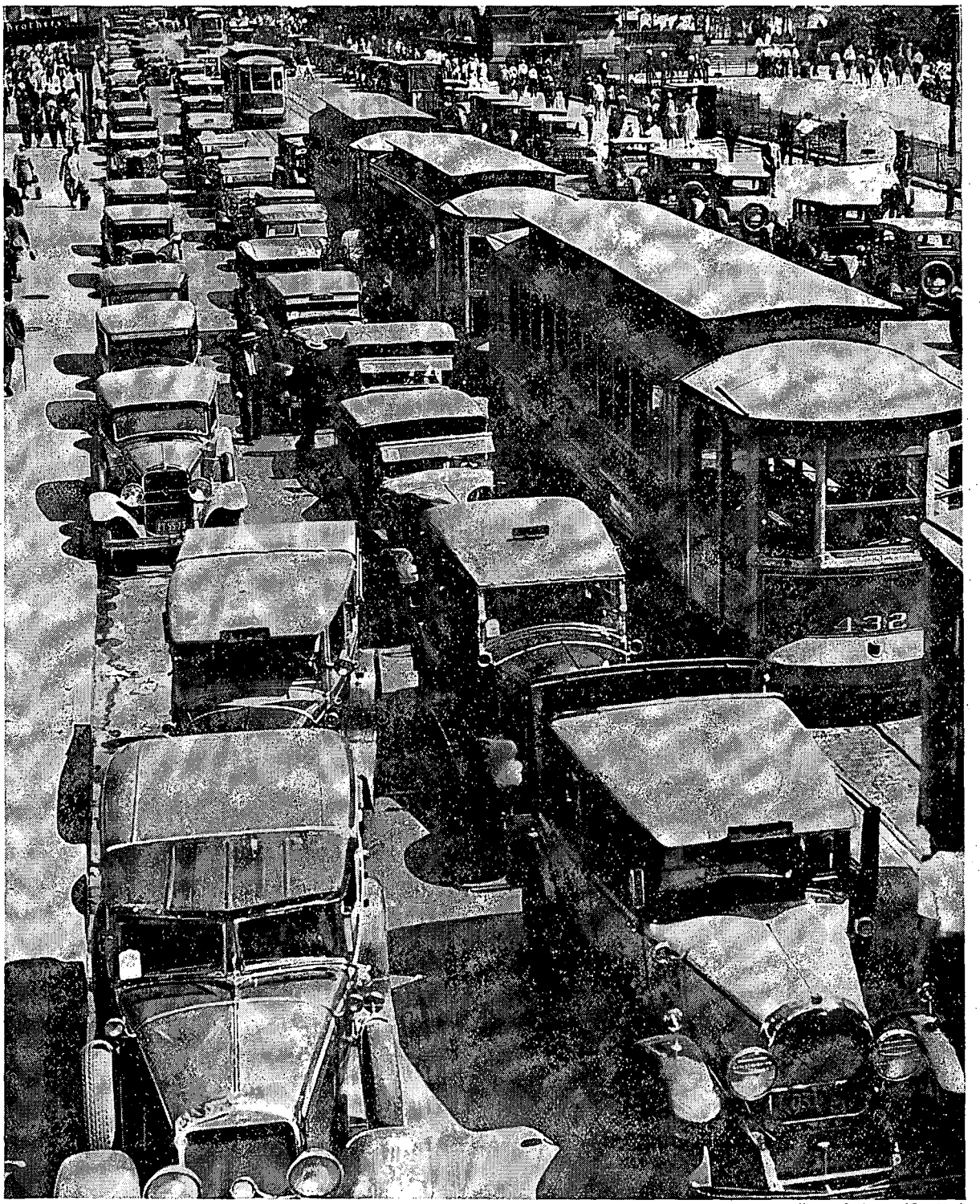

Ewing Galloway, New York

If we use our railways to illustrate the tawdry results which we all see, it is necessary to realize that any railroad is constantly confronted with two kinds of competition. The first is competition of what is technically known as the line-haul. Here the carrier exercises every trick of the business trade to keep the passenger or freight on its lines as far as possible in order to prevent sharing the fare or charges with another railroad which connects with its lines; or, failing this, to obtain as much of the "split" of the fare as possible without losing the passenger or shipment to some other road serving the same point. This is obviously "good business" as it tends to earn as much of a return on the investment in the particular railroad's facilities as the traffic will bear. But it is bad for our cities and, in the long run, detrimental to all other railroads and investors in railroad securities.

The practical effect of line-haul competition is to move the passenger and freight not by the route that is the shortest distance between two railroad points, but by that route which the railroad, selling you your ticket or giving you your bill of lading, takes in the general direction only of your destination. This is usually to the end of their system where long distances are involved. At the ends of our railroad systems, in every instance, are located our largest seaboard cities or river-crossing points where congestion and housing conditions are at their worst; in short where arteriosclerosis of the capillaries of our system of transport is in evidence.

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Much of the traffic originating on the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroads in the near west and destined for Boston or other New England points is routed through New York because these lines have their main terminals there. The traffic could cross the Hudson River Divide at Poughkeepsie, Albany, or Troy if routed by the shortest rail distance, but this would take the traffic off these roads at points on their lines considerably west of New York. The fare or rate would then have to be shared with another carrier completing the service. The result is not only congestion in New York at times of maximum traffic movements but an added cost, curious to say, that the passenger or the owner of the freight does not pay but communities adjacent to New York in New Jersey.

THE cost of ferrying a ton of freight across New York harbor is sufficient to carry the same ton from 200 to 600 miles on the rails. The railroads render this service "free" on certain classes of freight to shippers west of the Delaware River, generally speaking, when their shipments are destined to the New York area east of the Hudson. These roads attempt to recover the expense of this free service by jacking up the local charges for railroad freight service between the cities and communities located on the New Jersey side of New York Harbor. The cost of doing business, therefore, in any one of these communities, in spite of their advantage of geographical location, is a resistance that city planning has to overcome before it can pave the way for the free flow of traffic through them in the lay-out of facilities of transport which will enable them to experience a healthy community life.

The second form of competition that railroads practice in order to survive under our system of private enterprise is terminal competition. Here it is the object of "good" railroading to acquire their own properties; to hold and pay taxes on property without developing it, to prevent other carriers from having as favorably located terminals; to confuse if not mislead the passenger with the most attractive advertising literature possible; and to duplicate facilities which other carriers have already built in order to call them their own.

The most obvious of these practices for rail passenger service in New York are the Pennsylvania and the Grand Central terminals; in Boston the North and South Stations; in Chicago the Canal and the La Salle Stations. Neither the convenience of the through traveler nor the future of the city is considered. Once facilities of this magnitude and cost are located the area of the city between them is fixed, in function and congestion, for all time. City planning of the future must be adjusted to these "beautiful monstrosities."

The community can expect no initiative from without. Initiative must come from within. It must come from you and me whose constant adjustment to life requires it and whose pocketbooks are beginning to feel the burden of ever rising taxes, loss of property values, higher prices for numerous unnecessary handling charges because of a lack of local integration of facilities, and an inconvenience which often prompts us to move elsewhere when for economic or family reasons we cannot afford it. We continue to suffer rather than stir ourselves and take the necessary local initiative.

There is a holy trinity among economists. It is called production, distribution and consumption. There is no longer any problem of production. There are now only two problems remaining that are common to times of both prosperity and depression. One is the problem of physical distribution, which in essence is transport. The other is the problem of consumption, which our cities are likely to die of unless we prevent the disease ourselves and escape the ravages of undernutrition and impaired circulation. Here prevention means intelligent planning of our community. It is a problem of community and public health.

How many cities are there in the United States which are threatened with this disease and are in need of planning? Let us contrast the number with those which existed one hundred years ago. From the last census we obtain:

CITIES OVER 100,000

1830	1	202,289	7.51% of the United States
1930	93	36,325,686	29.59% of the United States

The first twenty of these ninety-three aggregate 22 percent of the nation's total population. They are New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans and Seattle; Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and Milwaukee; St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Washington. Glance at them carefully. They fall into just three groups; sea ports, lake ports, and river ports. On the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific seaboards they have become the principal railroad termini, the termini of transoceanic and coastwise steamship lines, and our points of international contact. On the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and on the Great Lakes they have become the joint termini of eastern railroads and western railroads.

These ninety-three cities of 100,000 population on the surface represent 30 percent of our total population. This is misleading; they represent much more. The incorporated limits of the cities only have been used to obtain these figures. The group of seaports alone total 11,409,256. If we use the metropolitan boundaries of these cities the total becomes 21,529,876, nearly 100 percent greater. Therefore the ninety-three cities having a population of 100,000 or more represent 40 percent of the population of the nation.

IF we take for our measure cities having a population of 25,000 or more the significance of city planning becomes apparent.

CITIES OF 25,000 OR MORE

1830	5	471,145	3.66% of the United States
1930	377	49,165,215	40.04% of the United States

These 377 cities appear to include only 40 percent of the total population. But they already include the ninety-three cities of 100,000 or more referred to above. The advent of the automobile has brought many smaller communities into intimate contact with what are now termed shopping centers. These 377 cities are virtually the main shopping centers of the nation. Their aggregate population, if figured on this basis, would total nearly 80 percent of that of the United States. City planning therefore in approximately four hundred cities of the nation would go far to alleviate one of the major problems over which as citizens we still have control.

What can we do about it? First, see if your state has adequate, modern zoning laws. Second, see if these laws permit your community to adopt regional, city, neighborhood planning. Third, have a plan drawn by competent technical talent to include not only features common to all communities but also those which are peculiar to yours. Fourth, form city planning committees in your City Council, Civic Club, and Chamber of Commerce. Then keep those committees behind that plan relentlessly by publicity of their members and their city-planning activities. The investment pays. We can prevent autointoxication, arrested circulation, community scurvy, or national arteriosclerosis, if we wish.

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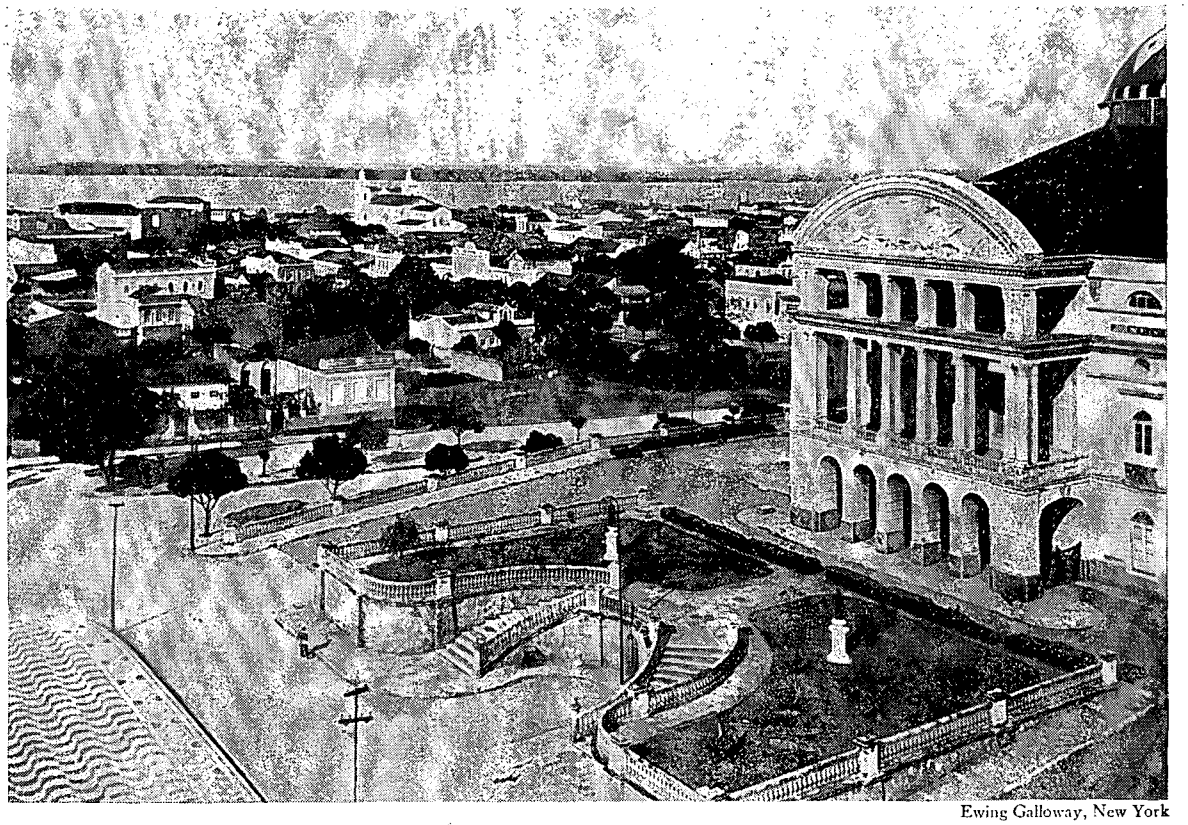

Ewing Galloway, New York

"The glory that was" Manaos, once an important Brazilian rubber center

Cities Built on Sand

By OTIS P. STARKEY

THE recent history of Manaos, a city in the Amazon Valley, affords an excellent object lesson for those regional planners who build their houses on economic sand. During the early part of this century the demand for rubber increased rapidly with the rise of the automobile; Manaos, a center of the wild-rubber trade, flourished. Rubber filled the pockets of individuals and of the Brazilian governments. Manaos was laid out in broad boulevards, fine public buildings were erected and its citizens boasted that it had the best trolley service in South America.

However, the prosperity of Manaos was suddenly checked. In 1876 a British scientist had carried a few seeds of the rubber tree to England and from these seeds the British developed a plantation rubber industry in the East Indies. By 1910 these plantations produced enough rubber to cause an abrupt break in prices. The crisis ruined most of the rubber firms of Manaos and soon the gay life of the city declined, the opera house became silent, the trolley-cars stopped, and today the jungle is reclaiming many of the boulevards.

BUILT on economic sand, Manaos went the way of the boom-town; the jungle has strangled it. Built on the dunes of Lake Michigan where the routes of raw material and of finished steel cross, Gary stands firm as a rock. A fascinating tale of two cities wherein it appears that the regional planning which is to endure must have a firm foundation in economic geography.

The tremendous growth of the world's population during the last century and the increasing concentration of people in cities, has perhaps led to a tacit assumption that cities will continue to develop and that the regional planner need only lay out his zones and his highways and wait for the population to fill them. The geographer can, however, point out many examples of declining cities similar to Manaos, while students of population claim to note a tendency towards a static population which may soon produce further urban stagnation and decline.

If we admit that an increasing population in cities (or regions) may not be safely assumed, it becomes necessary to abandon the "boom philosophy" and to build our regional structure on a foundation of economic geography instead. It is remarkable that most of the books and papers on regional planning have given, at the most, only a superficial treatment of the geographical background. This may be due in part to the tendency in America to consider geography as an elementary subject which deals mostly with the location of places and products. Often regional-planning reports will describe the climate, topog-

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raphy, mineral resources and distance from important cities of the area, together with a few of the obvious points on the relation of these factors to population and industry.

Such a discussion is but a small part of the geographic synthesis of a regional situation. More difficult, but more significant, are the careful balancing of the various environmental influences, the cultural factors which may intensify or subdue these environmental influences, and the influence of competing or potentially competing regions.

Let us apply this discussion to Manaos. The "Boom Manaos" advocate would point out that the Amazon Valley is an undeveloped region of great potentialities and that Manaos is its logical center. The more careful student without advanced geographic training would note that the climate was hot and rainy throughout the year and is therefore ideal for rubber, that there are many Indians in the Amazon valley who might be trained to gather rubber, that Manaos is located at the junction of several rivers and can be reached by ocean-going steamers which can steam directly to European and North American ports.

The history of Manaos demonstrates that these analyses are insufficient. The broader viewpoint of the geographer would bring in additional factors. There are many other sections where climatic conditions are equally favorable to rubber and many of these localities are superior to the Amazon Valley in labor supply, steamship service and stability of government. The collection of wild rubber is relatively inefficient since it involves much walking to reach the scattered trees. It has been known since about 1885 that rubber could be grown on plantations and that the cost of gathering such rubber would be relatively low. Consequently plantation rubber may be expected to displace wild rubber. Plantations require a reliable labor supply and, in this respect, Malaya, which is near densely populated areas, has the advantage over Brazil. Furthermore, if the plantations were to be established in tropical America, healthier and more accessible locations than Manaos could be found. Note that the geographer's analysis emphasizes the total situation of Manaos in relation to the entire world rather than the mere presence or absence of unintegrated favorable local factors.

ALTHOUGH a scientific analysis of regional potentialities by an economic geographer is more likely to provide an accurate basis for regional planning than a mere listing of environmental possibilities, the geographer is not an inspired prophet. Our knowledge of much of the physical environment is as yet inexact. Even more inaccurate are our ideas of human reactions to the physical environment, and future social and mechanical advance may alter these reactions. For these reasons geographic science cannot foretell economic development. It can, however, point out probable lines of development. Evolution along these lines of least resistance is much more likely to be successful than organizing our regional economies on hopes or on a trial-and-error basis.

Big business has tested this philosophy and found it profitable. The Bell Telephone Companies study the geography of their market and lay out their cables and arrange future building plans in those directions where geographic factors point to probable expansion. The United States Steel Corporation in 1905 found that they needed a new plant to supply the mid-western market. Their engineers examined the environmental potentialities of many sites and selected an area of sand and swampy meadows as the best site on which to found their steel city. Here the Steel Corporation built Gary, Indiana, and the wisdom of its engineers was demonstrated by the growth of Gary's population from zero in 1905 to 16,000 in 1910 and 100,000 in 1930.

Gary provides us with an excellent illustration of the principal geographic factors which influence the development of an area. There are two broad categories: factors of *site* and factors of *situation*. The latter are the hardest to study and are therefore most often overlooked. Nevertheless, as will appear, they are generally the most important since with a poor *situation*, a first rate *site* may remain unutilized.

BY *situation* is meant the location of the area in its relation to the resources and development of the rest of the world. In the case of Gary, the factors of *situation* include, first, *nearness to raw materials* since the necessary coal can be easily brought by rail from the coalfields of Illinois and Indiana and the iron ore can be readily shipped by boat from the mines of Northeastern Minnesota. Furthermore, it is located on the cheapest *direct route* between these two essential sources of raw materials. The New York-Chicago route, one of the most important in North America, crosses the first route at Gary, so it is at a *crossroad* of freight traffic. A tremendous *market* for steel is provided by the nearby automobile and machinery-manufacturing centers and by the rapidly growing cities of this area, such as Detroit and Chicago. Gary is near enough to Chicago so that the management can conveniently transact business with Chicago offices and yet is far enough away so that it is free from the high taxes and land prices of the metropolis. The surrounding area contains a dense population, from which an efficient *labor supply* can be attracted to the new city.

The factors of *site*, on the other hand, are closely connected with the immediate area within which the city is constructed. These factors are the most important in laying out the details of the city plan, but they do not reveal as much as the *situation* about the potential productivity and permanency of the settlement. In analyzing the site of Gary, we find, first, that the *topography* is level and fairly uniform. This permits considerable freedom in laying out a city plan. Also the surrounding area is flat and therefore there is almost unlimited room for industrial or residential expansion. The meeting of land and water routes at this point provides a natural location for *trans-shipment*. There are many such trans-shipment points along the shores of Lake Michigan, but since it is generally cheapest in shipping heavy commodities to use the water route as far as possible, Gary at the extreme end of the water route has the advantage over Milwaukee, Chicago and other points. The fact that Lake Michigan extends south of Chicago causes six railways entering Chicago from the east to crowd together near Gary. Cars from these trunk lines can be easily sent over belt lines to Gary factories and docks without going through the crowded Chicago yards.

The *climate* of Gary is stimulating, and due to the moderating influence of the lake it is not subject to such extreme conditions as many inland points. The *vegetation* is relatively sparse and it was not necessary to cut down forests or thickets before building the city. The *soil* is sandy and unproductive so that it was unnecessary to pay high prices for first-rate agricultural land to be used for urban purposes. On the other

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Ideal planning consists in doing no violence to nature, human nature or economic law.—C. A.

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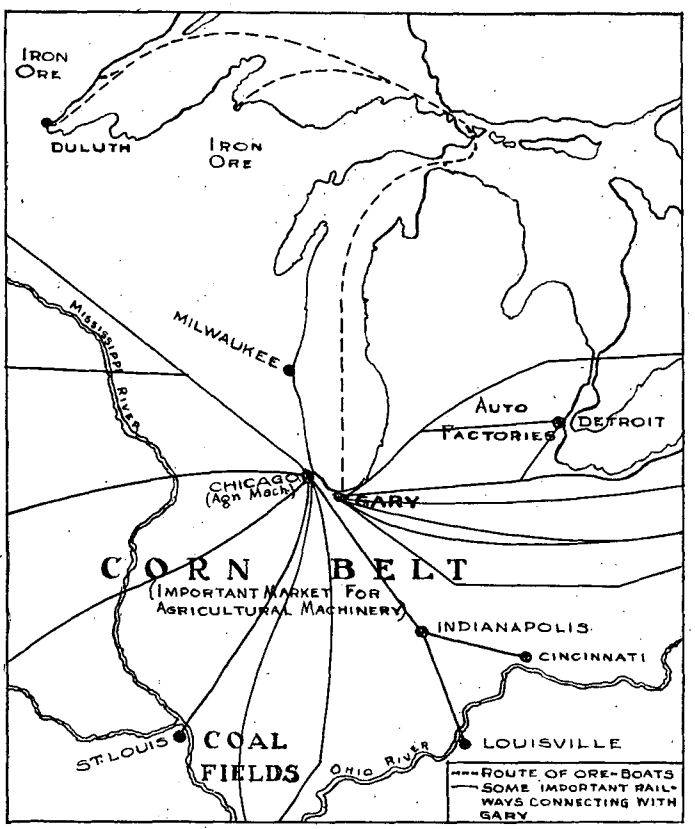
hand the soils a few miles away from the lake are rich and farms there could easily supply the new city with truck and dairy products. The *geological structure* under the soil does not provide the best foundation for skyscrapers, but, with so much room for expansion skyscrapers are hardly necessary. *Mineral resources* are lacking in the immediate neighborhood but all necessary raw materials could, as we have seen, be easily brought in over convenient routes. The lake provides an almost unlimited potential *water supply* so that Gary's problem is to purify the water, not to find it.

With all these favorable factors, Gary's growth is not surprising, and further expansion would seem to be a safe prediction. However, *geographic relationships are generally unstable* and, before we wager too much on the future, we should examine those factors which may alter these relationships. As this is by far the most difficult part of the task, we can only outline them in the case of Gary. First, we must consider the consequences of the *exhaustion of natural resources* or *discovery of new natural resources*. Will Gary continue to flourish when the Lake Superior iron ore is exhausted? Will it be profitable to import ore from some other deposit—say Newfoundland? Will *new inventions* or *increased utilization of existing inventions* cause a decline in the demand for iron and steel? Will *competing regions*, such as Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Birmingham, succeed in cutting into Gary's sales? Will *populational changes* within Gary's market alter her prosperity? It is obviously impossible to answer all of these questions, but the more carefully and thoroughly we examine them, the more accurate will be our valuation of the geographic factors.



Gary as related to iron ore, coal and important markets

Our brief studies of Manaos and Gary have shown that the geographic bases of a city involve nation-wide and world-wide considerations. However, the regional planner usually can not change conditions outside of his own neighborhood. He can, at the best, learn what the broader situation is and plan the economy of his region so that it will harmonize and continue to harmonize with the national and international economy.

What shall be the bounds of the region with which the regional planner is to cope? In the past the region selected has often been a political unit. From a legal viewpoint such a region is convenient, but the political unit often includes either part of a larger integrated geographic unit or parts of several geographic units. It is obvious that a plan for Camden, New Jersey, would be unsound without a careful consideration of adjacent Philadelphia with which Camden is economically and socially, although not politically, integrated.

Since the political unit is frequently unsatisfactory, the regional planner sometimes resorts to a "natural region." Such a region is often assumed to have unity based on geographic features and to be delimited by "natural boundaries." In practice, such natural boundaries are rarely to be found except in isolated mountain valleys, isolated islands and desert oases. In regional planning the concept is rarely relevant as planning is usually most needed where such boundaries are least distinct.

Several modern geographers have ceased to talk about natural regions and use "human-use region" or some similar term instead. The unifying factor is uniformity of use, but the concept is flexible according to the nature of the study—the region may be large or small, it may be based on one dominant activity or on several interrelated activities. In any case it approaches the regional problem from the human side rather than from physical geography. The concept is dynamic and is based on a changing human community with changing relationships to the environment rather than on static natural boundaries.

Most regional plans are concentrated around cities or groups of cities, i. e., urban centers. Consequently the criterion for bounding human-use regions might well be relationship to this point of focus. Commuting areas, retail shopping areas, sources of milk and water supply, et cetera, which are related to the urban center under consideration rather than to other urban areas all belong within the scope of the human-use region on which we may build our plan.

Urban centers may be classified according to their economic functions into manufacturing cities (e. g. Gary), political cities (Washington, D. C.,), ports (Guayaquil, Ecuador), resort cities (Atlantic City), educational cities (Williamstown, Massachusetts) and others. For each class a different set of relationships to the physical environment will develop. Environmental factors such as scenery and climate which are of paramount importance for a resort city are relatively subordinate in the development of a port. However, although the geographic setting often limits the type of city which may thrive in a given place, many sites have a wide range of possibilities and human choice determines the exact nature of urban evolution.

Most large cities represent a combination of two or more types of urban economy. Chicago, for example, performs the functions of a commercial and banking center, railroad terminal and junction, manufacturing city, port, recreational center, educational center and residential center. This common superposition of several urban economies on one site leads to mutual economic reenforcements and also to conflicts of interest, e. g. the residential economy may favor compulsory electrification of railways (*Continued on page* 489)

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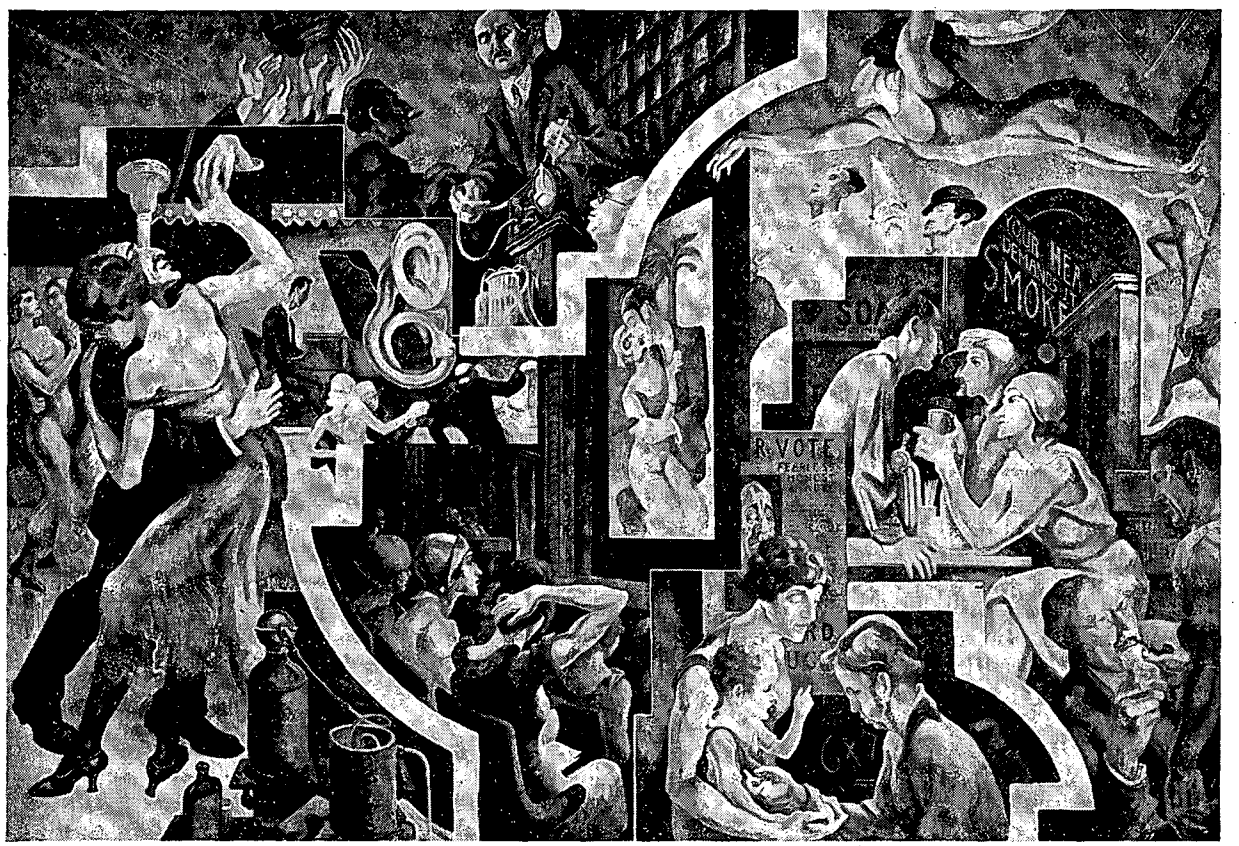
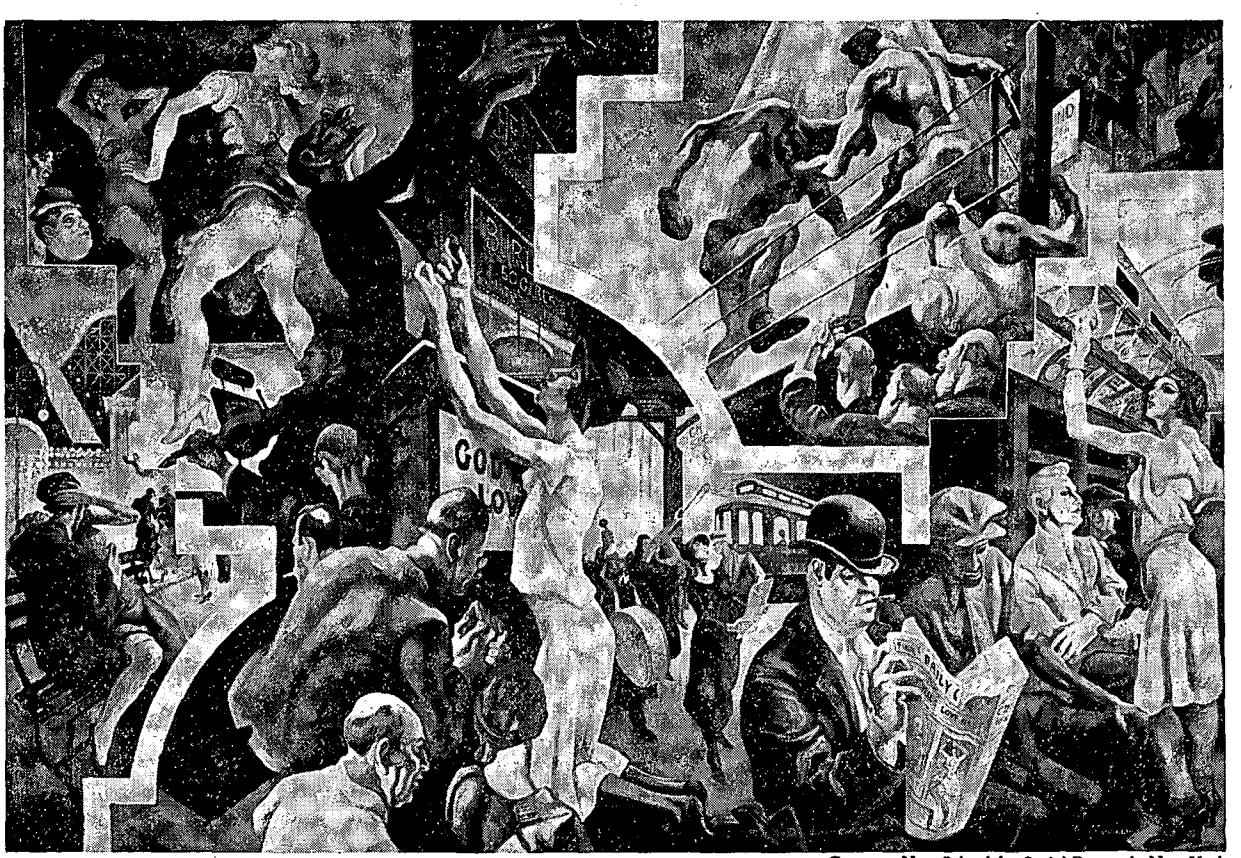
CITY LIFE—MURALS BY THOMAS H. BENTON





Courtesy New School for Social Research ,New York

Metropolitan living is a first cousin culturally to a frontier boom-town.—Robert S. Lynd

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Manhattan Boom-Town

By ROBERT S. LYND

GREAT urban aggregations develop for reasons that are in the main extraneous to the personal needs of men, women and children. While they offer supreme opportunities for those traits involved in competitive business enterprise, the overwhelming share of living—family life, personal relations of an affectional sort, the contemplative life, and many types of recreation—must make what shift they can.

To be sure there are exceptions—whole classes of them. The social utility of a New York as an aid in the emancipation and re-education of thousands of young women college graduates annually from the limited outlook and opportunities of small inland communities is probably great. Likewise, Harlem may set many Negroes free from traditional cultural handicaps maintained in some other parts of the country. But to the subtler purposes of living of the great modal group of inhabitants, a New York, a Chicago, a Pittsburgh offers little unequivocal aid and much perplexity. Especially is it true that to the very young and to the very old the raw, unintegrated, hard-driving culture of the great city offers more perplexities than solutions to their normal human needs.

The spectacular advances of metropolitan life have concerned primarily the material aspects of our culture—transportation, building construction and so on. The non-material aspects—habits of thought, feeling and action—indispensable to give coherent functioning to the whole, have lagged as usual far behind. In fact, one of the most striking characteristics of metropolitan life is its tendency to sluff off the non-material folkways and mores that have served in simpler environments. This is hailed by many as the "emancipating" tendency of urban life. In the great city the lag in many aspects of religion, government, family or neighborhood life becomes exaggerated; the bustling, impersonal culture no longer incorporates so tolerantly as does that of the smaller communities certain homely heritages of an earlier era.

If the sophisticate in New York prizes his emancipation from the church, his opportunities for selective acquaintanceship and freedom from the coercion of neighbors and from Rotary and the rest of the small community's machinery for evoking civic loyalty, his cousin in Kokomo is quick to reply that there is something unwholesome, something inevitably fragmentary in these big-city ways of living. If traditional sanctions are sluffed off in the metropolis, they represent not merely outmoded bric-à-brac, but functioning parts of a total culture; and it is appropriate to ask what the dweller in the big city is prepared to put in their places.

Actually, metropolitan living, for all its superficial polish, is first-cousin culturally to a frontier boom-town: here are shacks, stores, people, bustle—but the vital cultural elements of a mature, flexible system of habits of thought, feeling, and action concerning the intangible purposes of living have not developed and fused through the population. Hence the feeling of myriads of metropolitan dwellers that they are "just camping here" and plan—always tomorrow—to begin to live the way they feel they really want to live. Tomorrow they will live with more sense of leisure and spaciousness, the baby will no longer have to sleep in the living-room, there will be more time for the development of continuous friendships and to send down roots generally. They will take advantage of the music, museums and other assets of the great city which somehow or other have managed to get crowded out of their lives.

And as in any frontier boom community, while the stakes are great, one pays a heavy price in new problems and insecurities. Certain New York private schools surpass anything available in Kokomo for the very, very few able to pay boom-town prices to send their children to them, but the public elementary schools of many sections of New York City offer parents serious problems of social environment which their children would not face in Kokomo. New York spells freedom for the single woman from the Middlewest, but the metropolis has worked out no techniques for helping her to find a husband that are anything like so adequate as even the courtship rituals of the small inland community. Housing, child-rearing, recreation, friendship, family life in the metropolitan boom-city may involve more drastic and constant compromises than may these same functional activities in the more closely knit culture of the smaller community.

IF the privileged few manage to wrest a vital quality of living out of the opportunities of metropolitan living, this should not blind us to the fact that millions of their fellow-citizens probably live more meanly, in terms of the vital purposes and meanings of human life, than they would in smaller communities. Meanwhile, the cherished "impersonality," "religious secularization," "sexual modernity," and "freedom from civic rah-rah" and from "the coercion of neighbors" of the dweller in the great city may represent pathological adjustments in an as yet immature cultural situation.

As in so many issues, this one is not a matter of enforced choice in an either-or situation. Of course modern people want the ability to secure privacy and the ability to be impersonal—even with one's friends and neighbors—when those qualities are desirable.

Of course new values and new techniques will supplant many of the older serviceable ways of thinking and feeling and doing about religion, family, community and other areas of living. But if the metropolitan community is to survive, these new adaptations and reformulations will have to be more than negative defense mechanisms; they will have to be new functioning parts of a new culture. The dominant emphasis of every boom culture is quantitative and on material traits; only as it goes beyond this disjointed stage and begins to develop functionally rich and related non-material traits does a culture begin to come of age. The building of such a non-material culture to articulate the subways and skyscrapers of Metropolis is a task of the coming generation of American social scientists and philosophers.

Pavements are the stones marking the graves of trees, flowers and grasses.—C. A.

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The Traffic Jam in Ideas

By LYMAN BRYSON

WHEN an architect plans a city or a region, he tries to rearrange a segment of civilization. He disposes dwellings and business centers, spaces out breathing-spots for the people and aligns vehicular traffic. Is it too much to ask that he should also provide for free-moving traffic in ideas? Traffic in ideas may seem at first glance to be one important phase of civilization that is outside the scope of the regional plan. It is, however, somewhat controlled by mechanics, and the most inspired rearrangement of the other physical phases of civilization which does not take into account these mechanical obstacles would still be unsatisfactory.

In the United States all traffic in ideas is congested in a bottleneck. The bottleneck is New York.

The character of our greatest city as a source of thought is perhaps no worse than one should expect. It has the obvious, often-mentioned handicap of a large foreign-born population only partially assimilated. Its greater handicap, a geographical position far from the center, becomes year by year more serious. These things help to explain the flash and shallowness of New York ideas, but explanation is not a remedy. It is perhaps the nature of thinking in any great modern city that it should be mostly involved in fashionable ephemera. A man who directs an institution for the stimulation of adult intellectual life in New York said to me recently: "Don't ever forget that this is a place where nobody has time to do or think anything important because he is busy just going places. Our most intellectual people can never be interested for very long in any man or in the same idea. Even in the intellectual field newness is what counts." How many skyrocket reputations shoot up and fall into darkness in a season does not matter. There is always something new, even if it isn't any good. That ideas of significance require time for their comprehension and prolonged testing for realization of their value, is an obvious truth which would not need stating if there were any sign that it is ever considered.

Complaints like these, accusations of brittle smartness, have always been made against the life of great cities, but they are peculiarly applicable to New York. London and Paris, the only two modern cities which serve as a metropolitan center for the life of a nation, dominate comparatively small areas and they receive into the brew of their thinking constant streams of provincial freshness. They are both more cut off from the provinces than they were a few decades ago, but their isolation is still only partial.

In the old days cities were actually parasitic. Even the population had to be recruited from healthier country districts because on a physiological basis they could not maintain themselves. Since modern medicine has made even the slum a comparatively safe place to be born in, they are self-perpetuating. It is often said, of course, that the most typical of New Yorkers, if the hard surface can be scratched, proves to be a native of some crossroads from the back country; but that surface is hard indeed. It has been applied by the individual himself in the effort to prove that the misfortune of his birth can be remedied.

One of the publishers of that most charming of provincial papers, The New Yorker, asked recently in a discussion of this matter if the circulation of his journal west of the Hudson was due to the hatred in which the city was held. The answer was, of course, that the publication was successful because of its wit, and that New York is not hated as much as it should be.

This is not the place, however, to discuss what is wrong *per se* with the greatest of modern cities. I have done no more than state the text. From the standpoint of regional planning, the point at issue is the danger to American civilization or "culture," if that word is still printable, involved in the fact that New York is the bottleneck in our traffic in ideas. The mechanics of this tangle are simple enough. Manhattan is the editorial center of the country.

IDEAS do not count for much if they never get into print and the editors of Manhattan deliver the final decision. Periodicals of every sort from trade and professional journals to the million-circulation weeklies, almost everything of importance in fact except the farm papers which grow with the corn from the plains of Iowa, are edited from the Manhattan point of view. In this respect Philadelphia is only a suburb, although it should be said that even commuting distance has some good effect; and the brave isolation of The Atlantic Monthly only goes to prove the survival value of New England.

For a time it seemed as if the development of radio broadcasting would provide a remedy, but it was too much to expect that we should give deliberate consideration to the mechanics of any new form of communication before they become fixed. Broadcasting took mechanical form overnight. Traffic in ideas over the air must find its way through the same sort of congested center as do ideas struggling into print. The great broadcasting systems, admirable as they are in many ways, offer no relief.

A complaint was made recently by a rebellious westerner to the chairman of one of the committees in charge of the excellent programs of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. "Why," the westerner asked, "do you choose all the people who are to speak on the arts and the sciences from the population of the fifty-mile circle centering at 711 Broadway?" The answer was simple: "Because to put on the voice of anyone outside that circle costs too much.

"We chose a Californian for one broadcast and the additional expense, due entirely to his distance from the center of the network, was nearly $1500."

The editors do not pretend that they are doing their work for the people in the

THE provinces have something to say but they must choke it down, for all ideas have to go through the provincial bottleneck of New York editorial offices. We blush for our editorial neighbors but we point with pride to this barbed article in which the Young Man from California breaks so gallant a lance in behalf of the Old Lady from Dubuque.

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metropolis. As a matter of fact, one of them said recently that the proportion of readers in New York, readers, that is, of anything more than the newspapers, is surprisingly small as compared with the rest of the country. And it may be that human inertia itself is enough to explain why only two points of view get adequate expression. One is the complex but characteristic metropolitan point of view; the other what is known as that of "Kansas." The latter has no visible relation to the thinking of the state, where as a matter of fact lives the only honest provincial who has ever been able to make his own village a rostrum for speech to the American people. It is an imaginary country. The real United States is neither New York nor Kansas. It includes New York, which has its voices, but not even William Allen White can speak for the rest of the country.

Does it make any difference? Is provincial thought worth anything? The first answer which must be made is that there is no way of knowing whether or not provincial thought has any vitality or any value to the country as a whole unless it can find some means of expression. It seems very likely, moreover, that the ideas which might be developed out of regional points of view never come into being at all simply because no channel of communication is open to them. But unless the centripetal power of the metropolis is so great that it sucks in all the brains capable of being concerned with something more than business and recreation, the congestion in New York is killing what might otherwise have useful life.

Beauchamp in London-Punch

PUBLISHER (to partner): *I don't know what's happened, Harold, but we haven't found a genius for a fortnight*

It has been said that there are three large regions of cultural difference in America and that they can never be effectively bound together. One is east of the Appalachian Mountains, and this, according to the theory, will continue to develop within a network of Atlantic Ocean relationships, growing closer and closer to Europe as time goes on. The second is the civilization of the great central valleys. The third is the Pacific slope, which will probably become increasingly entangled with the Orient. These three regions, in spite of deep differences, are bound together now, but the bonds which unite them are mostly of an insignificant character. A cultural unanimity based on standard cigarette ads, the popular weeklies, and Amos 'n Andy is scarcely enough. If the differences are not too great, something more than these things may exist as a basis of common understanding. Whatever the fundamental things are, they ought to be discovered and given a voice.

Regional planning, insofar as it can deal at all with the traffic in ideas, should provide for at least two things. The first is to widen somehow the New York outlet for national thinking. The streams of thought from the farms and cities of the hinterland may be slow moving, but they have a certain life-giving quality. Other civilizations have found an interchange between the center and the outer regions healthful. If New York originates anything, its own products will always have a better chance for expression than any which come from outside, and planning should take responsibility for seeing that wandering strangers from the outside do not too often get choked to death.

The second change is to plan somehow for the development of regional expression for regional uses. New York can never be a real metropolis unless it is the greatest among great cities, an intellectual capital in a country which has in all regions and on all levels a vigorous intellectual life. Perhaps New York, because of its disadvantages, could never be an exchange through which regional thinking could pass undiluted from each region to all the others. But that exchange would be easily provided for if the regions themselves could become articulate. In many cities, and in some university towns, there are now the signs of half-formed ideas which would develop into force and beauty if there was any institutional outlet for them. St. Louis, for example, could become a center if it had half a chance. Santa Fe has almost succeeded in spite of handicaps. San Francisco could make its ideals mean more if it could be possessed of the tools by which cultures are recorded. These are random examples. Others will occur to anyone who knows American life.

There are two kinds of provincialism. One is typified by the man who thinks the world revolves in a very narrow orbit around his own front door. This afflicts New York. The other is the sort which can find nothing real or good unless it is imported from a distant capital. American communities outside New York are too much afflicted with this. Regional planning for the traffic in ideas will have achieved a satisfactory re-routing when all ideas, no matter where they may happen to be born, have a chance to prove their worth to whatever audience they may appeal to.

No one wants to discourage the provincialism of the metropolis itself. In a moderate degree it is healthy. We are supposed to find its perfect expression in The New Yorker. That bright periodical announced as an editorial policy that it was not going to make any effort to please "the old lady from Dubuque."

May it be suggested without ingratitude that although the laugh is almost always with Peter Arno, the truth may sometimes rest with the old lady.

The secret of good planning is not to be found in making it possible to do the things we are doing more efficiently and less wastefully, but in finding out whether they are worth doing.—C. A.

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To Plan or Not to Plan

By HENRY WRIGHT

THE organized city planning movement in this country is just passing its first quarter century of effort. Ushered in with the background of a century of planless procedure in the expansion of cities and establishment of scores of new ones, it is perhaps not surprising that planning has thus far been marked by a crusading spirit. A maximum of energy has been devoted to the mechanics of method and to putting across the idea of "the plan" rather than effecting those changes in attitude and individual as well as business procedure which must accompany any really vital improvement in public accomplishment.

The Deadly Sins of Planning

1. Skill without knowledge.
2. Profit without responsibility.
3. Purpose without objective.
4. Use of natural resources with utter disregard of nature.
5. Facts detached from truth.
6. Population without regard to humanity.
7. Economy without economics.
8. Overcoming resistance rather than its abolition.
9. Function rather than service.
10. Ornamentation without beauty or harmony.

—C. A.

While within the movement the City Planning Institute has represented a progressive study of the actual problems involved in planning procedure, a much larger effort has gone into propaganda and promotional work. Through the Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning in the Housing Division of the Department of Commerce we are kept advised of the quantitative progress of the movement. The latest data show that 828 municipalities have city plan commissions, and 1150 have been "accorded the benefit of zoning" with forty-eight million people coming under the beneficent effort of the latter form of planning. Certainly such figures represent a vast amount of expended energy and credit should not be withheld from those who have carried the battle in the heat of the day.

But the inference should not be drawn that any appreciable numbers embraced in this half of the urban population of the country have either appreciated or felt the results of city planning or zoning, or that the operation of either in any large proportion of cases makes a vital difference in the way people go about their daily tasks or even in the methods of procedure in those important details of current city-building which takes place. The movement thus far has failed to demonstrate impressively the difference between casual mediocrity and real charm and comfort in our every-day surroundings. In fact about the most that can be claimed is that conditions are not so bad as they would have been without such planning and zoning as we have had. In saying this we do not fail to recognize the exceptional cases where not only good city plans but effective accompanying results have been realized. For the most part, however, cities are still fairly well messed up and have continued their uncontrolled expansion on the basis of land speculation, piling up excessive municipal costs and burdensome taxation, which rather anomalously is just now being most loudly protested by the very adherents of that real-estate overexpansion which has caused much of the difficulty.

The question arises as to how far we can safely continue to expand our planning enthusiasm before we seriously take stock of the actual effective results. How far have we faced the problems of creating a rational, well-balanced community development in which questions of time and sequence and necessity take their place in importance with those of form and physical plan. Most of our past planning process has been one-sidedly devoted to generalized or skeleton planning, leaving the detail to private "development" or at most setting up stereotyped standards of street layout, lot sizes, setbacks and so on, with a generous but costly factor of safety consistent with their general-purpose application.

We are here, however, less interested in developing the subject of how the planning movement should be actually reoriented than in the attitude of both the planners and others in the production and application of city plans.

UNQUESTIONABLY in the past too much emphasis has been given to the preparation of the *plan* and entirely too much reliance has been placed in the efficacy of the existence of a *plan*. This overemphasis has been associated with the difficulty of convincing people that planning is at all necessary, but this need not blind us to the fact that the *plan* portrays the obvious *process* of working out the problems of a city and is relatively less important than the policy of determining what its problems are and whether or to what extent it is definitely expected to change or eradicate them.

Among the problems which the city has to face is the problem of expansion; as desirable and necessary as some expansion may be, it is costly and should be avoided wherever reasonably possible. But practically all planning has blindly assumed that expansion is the goal of city planning. In fact the more ambitious and beautiful the depiction of the far-flung highway system the greater the temptation to overexpand and the greater the excuse for the impecunious land speculator. Thus we may conclude that even well-conceived planning for a great expansion of the city may be very bad policy for the city. It is not enough to excuse our plans on the basis that the city will expand anyway and should have a plan for doing it properly. Even if this is true such plans might better be suppressed than broadcast if we wish to avoid increased difficulty in carrying them out. It is by no means certain that although the past has

THE evangelical era of city planning is passing. Enter realism. Just what is it we want of our city plan, and how has it been affected by the great changes in transportation which inevitably lead every city to flow over all artificial political boundary lines into its own region?

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suffered because there were no plans at all, the future may not suffer because there are far too many or too ambitious plans. Here as in many other things the development of principles and abilities to meet the future intelligently when it arrives, may be better than trying to fix all our future development through plans based on our limited present experience.

Planning must unquestionably be a dual process in which policy is, if anything, more important than depiction. Unfortunately policy cannot be drawn up and embalmed in rigid lines, which some expert of even unusual vision may lay down today for a generation to come. But even if we cannot see all our future policies we can perhaps develop some coordinating principles for our current action so that we do not, as at present, tend to nullify in principle what we plan in theory. Some gains should come of the mere association of the two processes which are equally vital in the progress of real planning accomplishment. What is most important for the public as well as the planner to clearly realize is that most of our present planning enthusiasm is wasted because we must continue to work on the basis of impossible hypotheses. Land-planning at best must remain unsatisfactory so long as our method and restrictions are largely absorbed in adjusting the dislocated processes of premature and generalized production for uncertain future uses. Zoning at best can only be a hodge-podge of ineffective regulations so long as we must still think in terms of narrow individual lot-ownership and the cramping uses to which we are thus confined.

Here is our greatest weakness today. City planning must be more closely related to the realities of the present before it can provide safe plans for the future. Nor can we expect to accomplish by planning things for which planning is not clearly the answer. Take for instance the question of the municipal boundaries, or "city limits" as they are sometimes called. In times past the problem was one in which a change in the city line actually represented a new "limit" within which the city would grow. Such a change was then primarily a matter of judicious planning. Now, however, cities cannot be confined within limits; the problem is no longer one of *fixing a line* but of more rationally *adjusting* the governmental relations throughout the territory into which the spread will take place, regardless of imaginary political boundaries.

IT IS when we approach the newest phase of city planning, which has been somewhat erroneously called "regional" instead of "metropolitan" planning, that we find the weakness of one-sided planning, the temptation to rely on delineation increasingly evident. Here is offered a new and almost irresistible opportunity for spreading ourselves over limitless areas which can be crossed and criss-crossed with motor highways, express highways, supplied with grade eliminations, bridges, tunnels and what-not. Fewer existing obstacles create more inviting forms to be filled in with new fanciful sub-divisions, even garden cities. Every valley becomes a potential parkway if it is not occupied by a railroad, when it is a potential industrial zone. Every plan is an inviting prospect for more miles of far-flung sub-divisions. The fact that we propose to cast the latter in new and novel forms, to adopt the advanced principles of super-block planning for the gridiron or even the curvilinear landscape method, or to plan various closely related areas on the theory of "neighborhood units"—all of these are merely begging the issue, of what the actual needs and absorption abilities of the city really are and of what to do with the growing dry rot at the center of the city.

Real-estate men quite appropriately welcome even the best of the new forms of city planning and subdivision methods. They realize that they may provide new "selling arguments" so necessary when a market is already waterlogged with too much vacant land. But let any one suggest that planning may be used to delimit as well as to expand and the lack of desire to foster the public interest is at once exposed.

What we need is not more miles of arteries or more acres of plans or even more *planning vision*, but more business common-sense effort in the interest of selecting and developing from the welter of excellent plan ideas, a sensible and well-balanced and economic program which will conserve the best resources of each given area for the eventual, most efficient and well-coordinated operation of a comfortable existence for all its population. Traffic must be reduced, not expanded, by making all traffic purposeful instead of cumulative and useless. Mass decentralization must be substituted for the present tendency to further decentralize habitation alone. Order will be restored out of the present chaos not by a greater expansion of intricate movement but by a recentralization of all the common every-day interests of smaller aggregates of population within the larger area. In addition we must improve general inter-relationship for the disposition of industry and living. Such units must be permanently separated and definitely restricted in size.

The problem, therefore, resolves itself into one of selecting from the present mass of valuable but unlimited possibilities, a program of action which will provide a reasonably imaginative and efficient but moderate and obtainable reorganization of the activities of the region and obviate the present impossible effort to move great masses of population into and out of congested central business or industrial areas with each diurnal workday.

Pattern and Background

By RAYMOND UNWIN

REGIONAL planning is primarily concerned with the distribution of development over the region. This is the broad and essential purpose, which planning of a more local character cannot accomplish. Hitherto planning has in the main had to be carried out on the general assumption that all land must be regarded as potentially available for building development; and planners have had to be content in most cases to reserve some of the most attractive spots as open spaces—to plan, that is, a pattern of open space on a background of potential building land. It is becoming recognized that this is not the principle of planning suitable for regional work; that on the contrary the proper way to plan regionally is to design a pattern of building development on a background of open land. Which land should not be available for building use until those parts of the pattern already designed were sufficiently occupied, or the pattern were modified or extended to include additional land.

The modern motor-transport facilities tend to promote sporadic development. This is uneconomical and unsatisfactory in every way. It should be the prime purpose of a regional plan to design the best possible distribution of future development so as to group the buildings in suitable nuclei based on proper social and economic considerations, and to preserve the background of open land from being invaded by haphazard and sporadic building operations.

Other questions of main lines of communication, industrial development, the reservation of public open spaces, all fall into their place as part of the design. The fundamental consideration in regional planning, however, is to know which is the pattern and which is the background.

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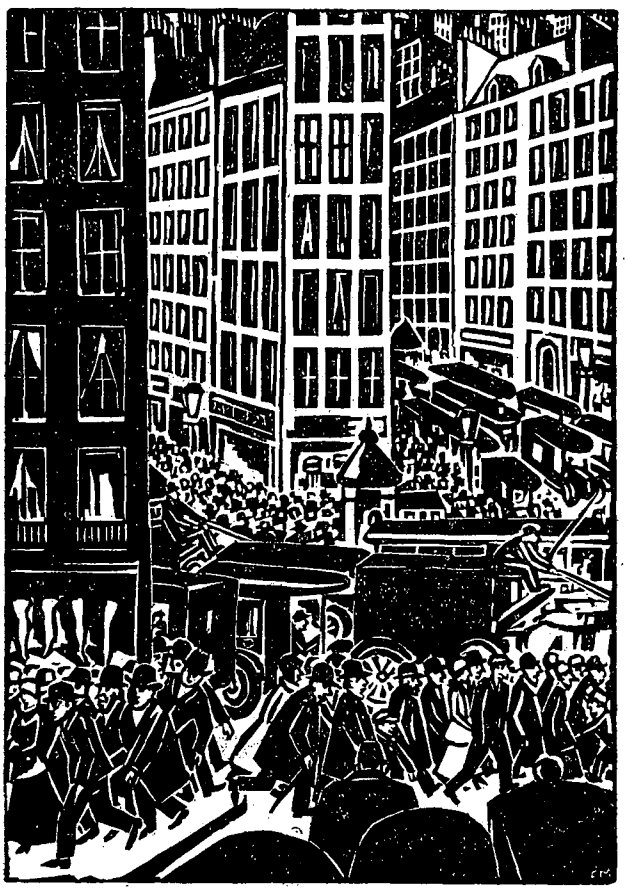
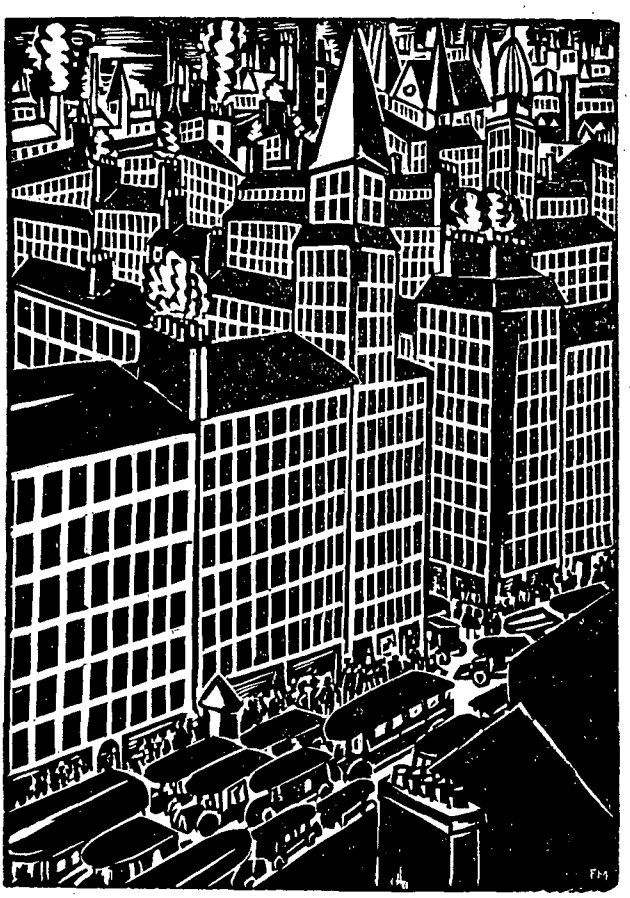
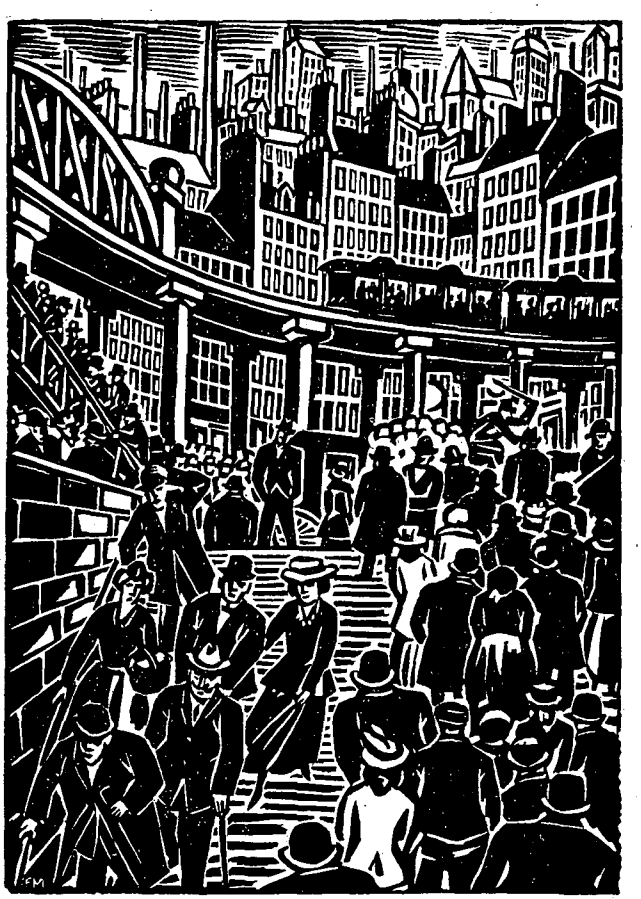
THIS GREAT HIVE, THE CITY







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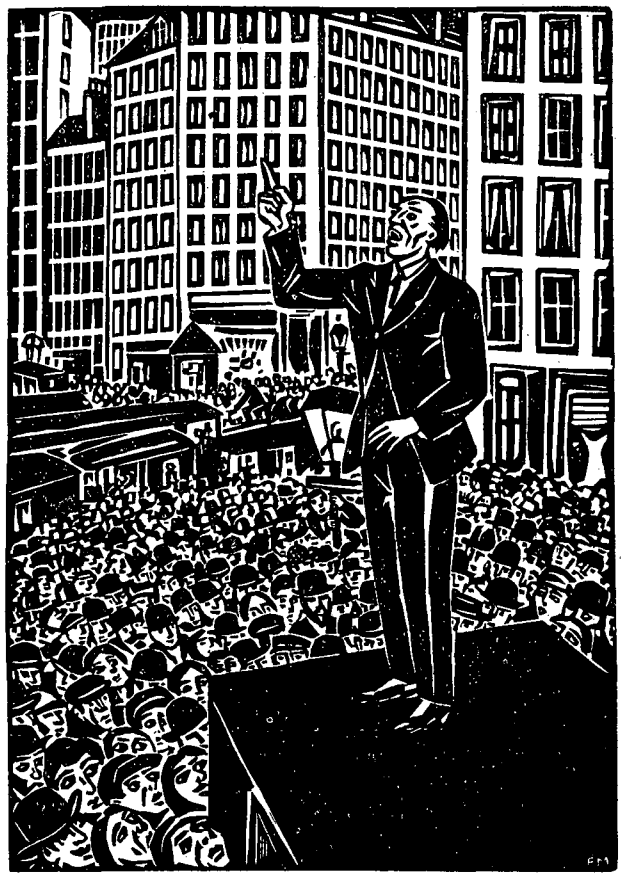
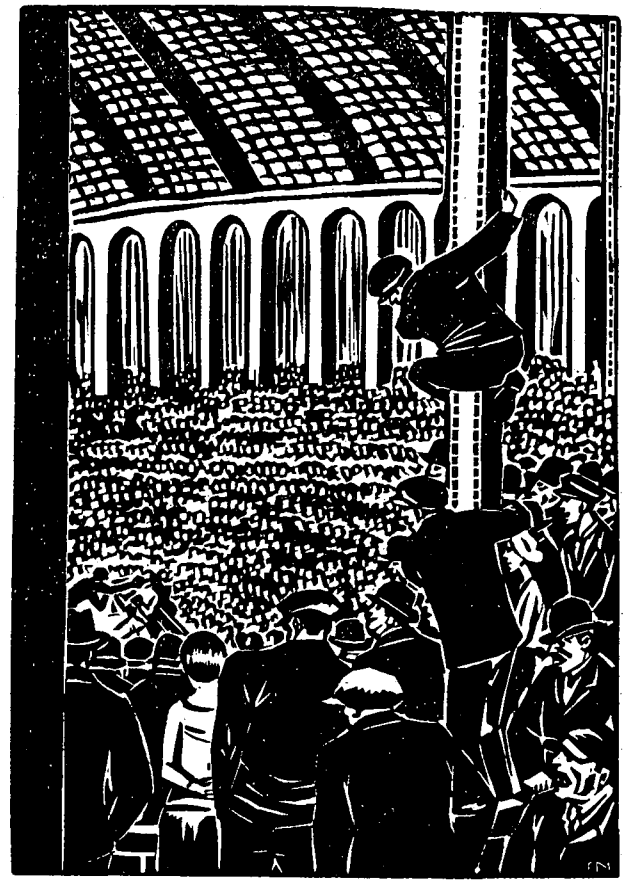
From La Ville, a Hundred
Woodcuts by Frans Masereel





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Public Tools for Regional Planning

By CHARLES S. ASCHER

IF GOVERNMENT is that agency which we have voluntarily created to carry out our common aspirations (or at least those which by general consent can thus be most efficiently and economically achieved) and to bring to bear on the unenlightened individual the pressure of our common will, effective planning needs the government. So we can plunge in *medias res* and consider how government can most effectively meet the needs of regional planning.

At this point many of my planning friends look longingly to Russia. I think I know what they sigh for: a system in which the technician can project his plans, unimpeded by selfish property interests, in which scientific studies made by economic geographers can be translated into action by sympathetic administrative officials. In Russia, presumably, there should be no single metropolitan area (like New York), covering parts of three states and containing over four hundred semi-independent units of local government. In Russia no excellent county planning commission (as in Los Angeles) should have to wheedle the officials of seventeen cities into accepting a comprehensive plan for the arterial highways of a single valley.

Russia, we will readily agree, has a sophisticated, planning-conscious government. It would naturally early see the advantages of making administrative areas coincide with natural economic regions. And in fact, long before the beginning of the Five-year Plan, the technicians of the Gosplan produced a map of "economic rayons" or zones for the U. S. S. R. Twenty-one of them: one for the peninsula north of Leningrad; one for the great wheat plains; one for the mineral regions of the Urals.

And now look at the administrative map of Russia, 1931. Over fifty S. S. R.'s, oblasts, krais,—big ones, little ones. Three in the lower Volga rayon; three in the peninsula north of Leningrad; a single S. S. R. made up of two rayons. What has happened?

Perhaps there is a clue in the names upon this uneconomic map. In the lower Volga rayon are a German A. S. S. R. and a Kalmuk autonomous area. Two economic rayons together constitute the Ukrainian S. S. R. In fact, the only parts of the map where the economists' rayons and the administrators' units dovetail are the parts where nobody lives,—the Far Eastern Krai, the Yakut A. S. S. R.

Now we have our Gosplanners in the United States too. They are sound technicians and their studies are too little known. Thus, Prof. J. Russell Smith, in his fascinating North America, divides the country into about forty natural regions. Oliver E. Baker, senior agricultural economist of the Department of Agriculture, stakes out thirteen great belts differentiated by soil, climate, humidity and topography; these are subdivided into over forty subregions. In this scheme, I may say, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston fall into a Middle Atlantic Trucking Region.

In short, man does not live by economic geography alone and administrators have to deal with men. Quite as much, too, in the U. S. A., even if we don't have a hundred different languages and races. Thus there has been an entirely laudable attempt in Virginia to consolidate counties. One of the big stumbling blocks, according to a state official, is that the name of each Virginia county is so freighted with historical tradition that the citizens can't agree on a name for the new unit which is supposed to supplant four or five of the old political divisions.

There is one more dream about government which at present beguiles some planners. I know one who was called upon to lay out a model capital city for a far distant country governed by a virtual dictatorship. At the end of a year, with his corps of technicians, my friend had laid out a swell job. "Thank Heavens," he thought, "I am spared the usual public hearings of a democracy; the discouraging attempt to sell my plan to elected officials, who will be unable to resist the pressure of private groups seeking to distort my plan to meet their selfish interests; the inevitable compromises."

THE plan was laid before the dictator. He pondered it; took a pencil and drew two straight lines across it at right angles: "I want a street north and south, so, and a street east and west, so." The Napoleonic complex, you see. My friend says that the possibility of a public hearing seemed almost good at that moment.

Hence we may perhaps be justified, for the present discussion, in assuming that we shall have to continue for some time with our unscientifically bounded forty-eight states, with a bow to Prof. Charles E. Merriam and those who feel that the only way to achieve self-determination for our great metropolitan centers is to create the city-states of New York and Chicago. I shall assume also that we shall operate under an eighteenth century constitution, which, however, provides a sufficiently elastic police power so that within fifteen years we have gained the right to tell the landowners in 1150 communities inhabited by nearly forty-eight million people what kind of buildings they may or may not build on their land. (Incidentally, British land-owners are at present terribly excited over a proposal to introduce this socialistic legislation in England.)

Briefly, then, and for lack of space dogmatically, I see as the necessary rôle of government in regional planning: study, regulation, execution, and financial aid.

Study must be at least on a state-wide basis and must take in some of the things 'twixt heaven and earth not now dreamt of in the conventional planner's philosophy. The Department of Commerce lists seventy-nine existing "regional planning commis-

THE ardent planner yearns for Russia, or some benevolent despot who will put through his plan without public hearings, fights on the side-lines and the hullabaloo of democracy. Yet even in this land of the free there are two score arms of government that plan and extend a legal dictatorship into recesses of every back-yard.

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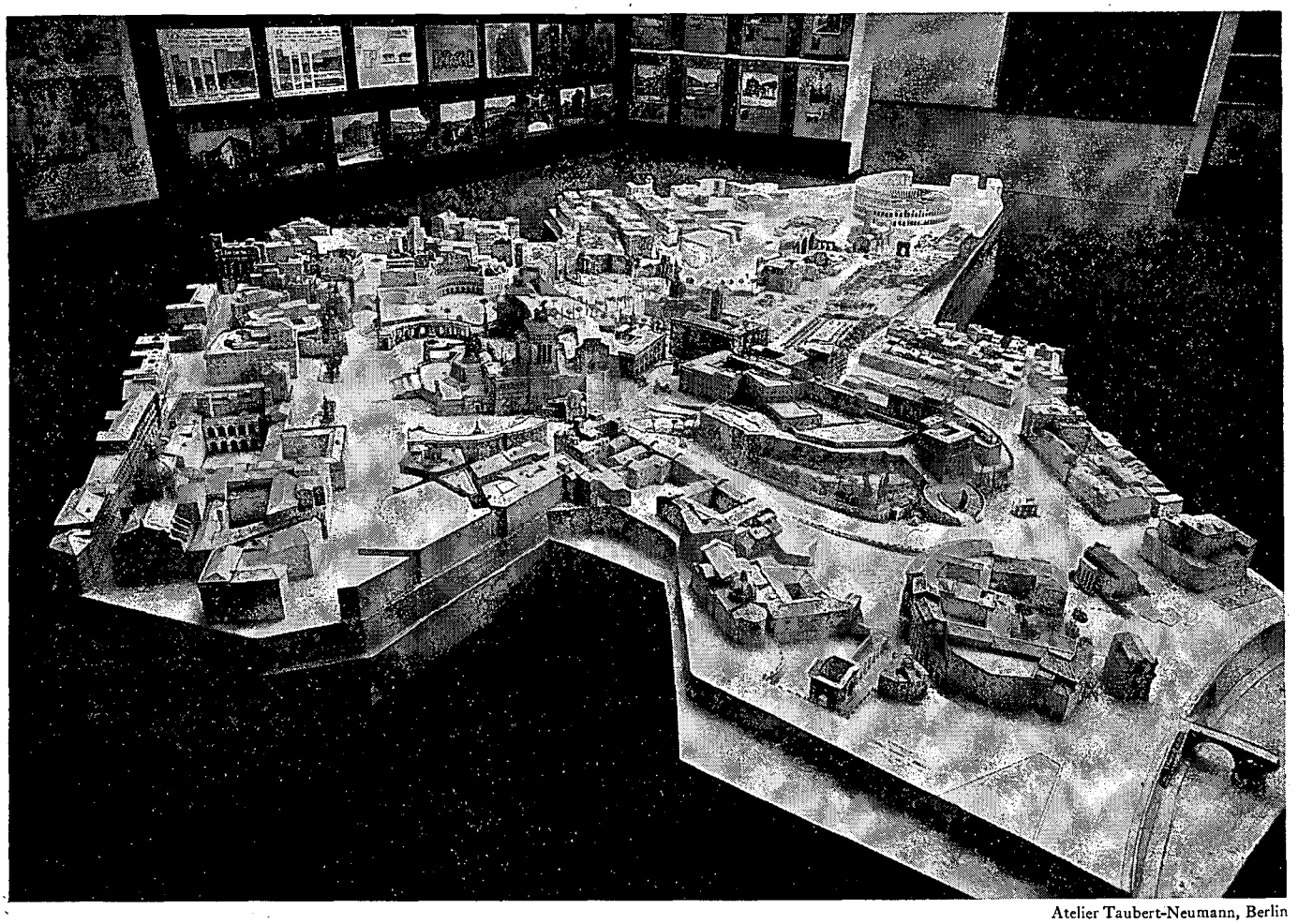

Atelier Taubert-Neumann, Berlin

Where one man is in control, Rome can be (re) built in a day — A plan of reconstructed Rome

sions." Only a few of these seem to be thinking regionally or in terms of the total problem of land planning. Too often they are simply extending the admirable techniques of urban planning to a larger area, and where these areas are not predominantly urban, as in California (in which every county must by statute have a planning commission), this approach is inadequate. A county highway system is not a regional plan.

The agricultural economists must be brought in: studies of optimum land use, such as the one in Tompkins County, N. Y., carried down to the detail of ten-acre squares, are needed for whole states. The conservationists have important things to say about forests and water-supplies: standards and techniques are being evolved by those interested in recreation, parks, open spaces. The planning of private groups, like great utility companies, have important regional implications.

Finally I put in a word for the political scientists. I don't see how regional planning can advance without the benefit of the studies which have been going on for years in this other sector without enlisting any substantial public enthusiasm. Now suddenly, under the pressure for governmental economy, students of taxation and local government are being carried on the shoulders of taxpayers' leagues and real-estate boards. Budgeting that part of our national income which is collected by taxes and disbursed by government so that it will best serve a planned program is a problem which will survive both the present depression and very considerable changes in our social structure. The problem of organizing government so that it can effectively carry out a plan will face us the day after the revolution.

Governmental planners are thinking about problems like these, every one of which is of regional significance: the distribution of the financial burden of planned improvements, as by special benefit assessments.

THE distribution of administrative powers, as in the creation of special regional authorities for public works, water supply, sewage disposal, police, parks. The reduction of overlapping layers of government, villages, townships, school, road and drainage districts, counties: when I last counted, the town of North Hempstead, New York, had sixty-three separate municipal corporations in it. I know of a farm in Michigan, valued at about $5000, the owner of which is bound to pay some five different governmental agencies $21,000 as his share of diverse public improvements. The reorganization of local governments, as to function and structure: can the county be made an effective instrument of government? What should be its relation to the city within its borders?

If I seem to overstress these factors in regional planning, it is because they are usually understressed or ignored. Yet I observe in Clarence Stein's recent check-list in the Architectural Forum of procedures involved in creating a planned community, thirty agencies of government that may have to be consulted and at least eighteen from which permits or approvals may be needed.

Regional planning, then, needs (*Continued on Page* 490)

We have the courage to destroy beautiful things for personal gain. Why not foster community courage for the destruction of ugly things for the common good? — C. A.

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Rural Village, New Model

What Good Rural Planning Can Do for the Countryside

By WALTER A. TERPENNING

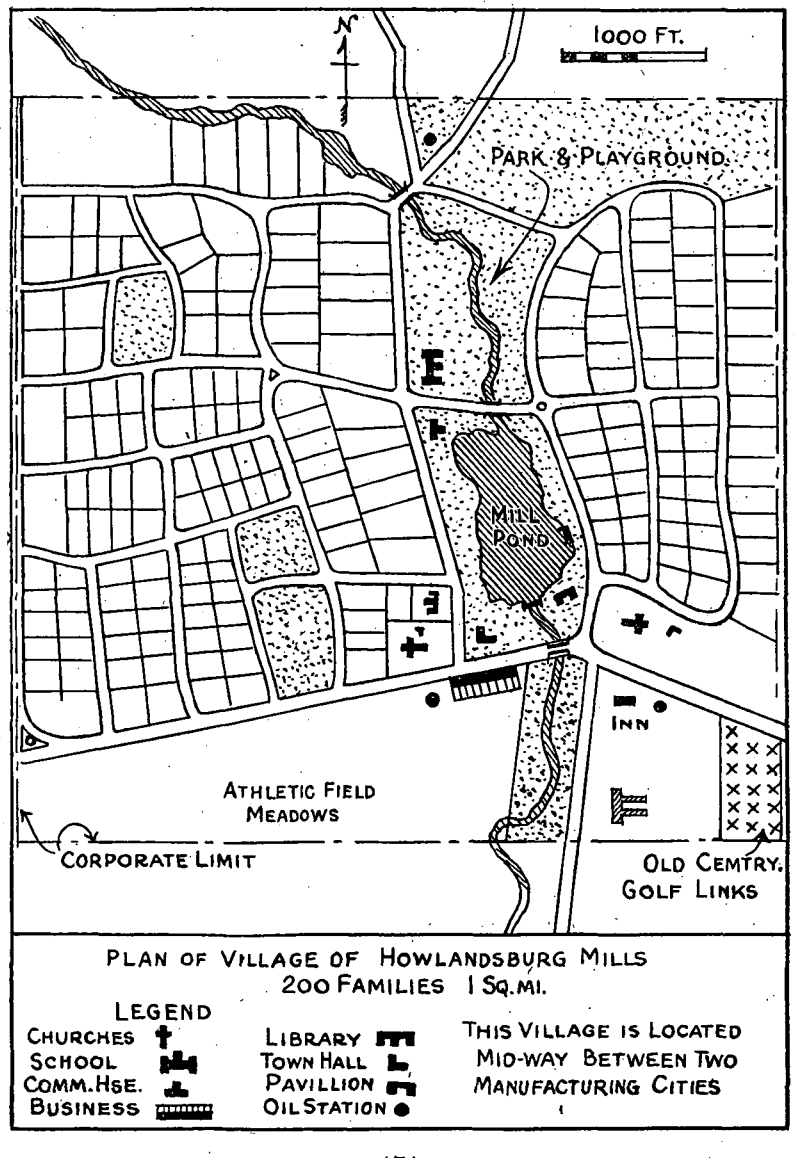
Structural Plans of Model Communities by Howard Young, Architect

THE only object of pride which a certain Michigan village exhibits to visitors is said to be the cemetery on the hill, and visitors are of the opinion that this fact is significant of the character of its population. A really live community should have something besides its cemetery to brag about.

While there is an increasing interest in community planning and replanning as shown by recent developments in the building of garden cities, zoning experiments and efforts at the beautification of cities and villages, there is need for a much greater interest. Most of our villages and our cities have, like Topsy, "just growed" without much conscious planning other than that furnished by enterprising real-estate agents whose motives have not always been consistent with community welfare and whose knowledge of a community's structural needs has been greatly limited.

The need for such planning has become urgent with the improvement in communication and transportation, the increased population, and the changing functions of community life. The congestion and taxation in our city warrens is becoming unbearable and might be greatly lessened if the surrounding rural villages were made more attractive as homes for urban workers, business and professional people, and as locations for industries, businesses and social institutions which could quite as well be located in the country as in cities. Again there is a tendency in rural districts for farmers to make of the village a nucleus of social and economic organization for their enlarged community life. The village might well prepare itself for the new function of supplying the recreational, religious, educational and other social needs of the surrounding rural population.

Since it is generally recognized that, due to the improvement of communication and transportation, there is now an excess of rural villages and a need for a decrease rather than an increase in their number, the problem would seem to be that of replanning villages already built. And since the rural village community is never entirely separate from the surrounding open-country neighborhood so far as social and economic organization is concerned, and ought to be less so, the replanning should include the adjacent open-country neighborhoods as well as the village center. American rural villages have long expected to grow into great centers which would be independent of farming people, but the time has come when 99 4/10 per cent of them may as well give up their urban ambitions and be reconciled to remaining small communities. They need not lose interest in urban organization, for they have much to learn from this source, but they must adapt themselves to agricultural needs and recognize farmers as neighbors rather than as poor relations.



The work of rural community replanning will require the services of thoroughly trained specialists and the cooperation of all the members of the communities. In its accomplishment it will be necessary to develop some cooperative character on the part of the citizens. They must outgrow their traditional fanaticism which assumes that anything in the way of a communal enterprise is socialistic and to be avoided, but this change of attitude is beginning to take place spontaneously in some communities.

Such cooperative development must await the growth of community consciousness and

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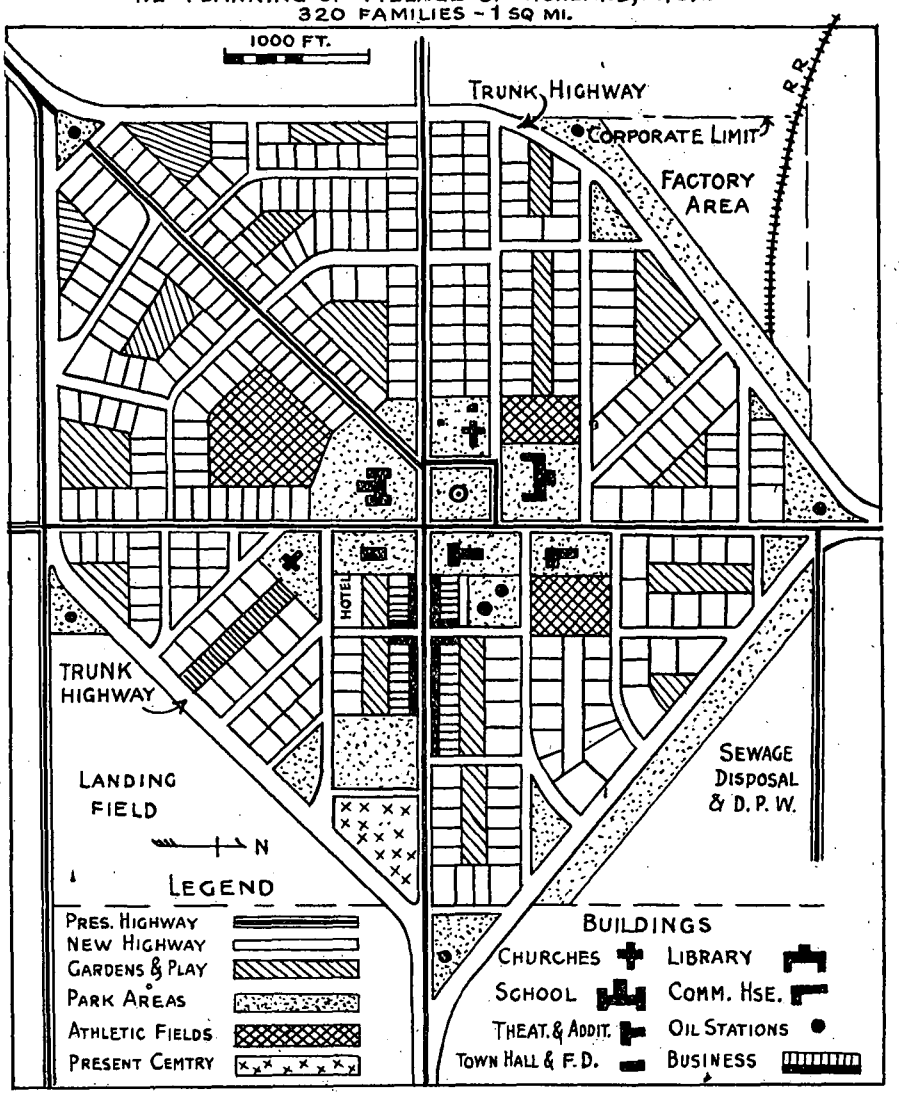
solidarity in which its seeds can generate and come to maturity. This will involve the dissemination of the knowledge of social and economic needs. The recognition of such needs is much more general in urban communities and cities have much to teach rural communities in this respect. Rural people must be brought to understand the close relation between the physical structure of a community and its efficiency in meeting communal needs. In addition to the services of experts, the development of the cooperative spirit, and the knowledge of community needs, there must be perfected a form of organization through which the community can function, appropriate legislation, and a system of financing the community enterprise.

The prerequisites to effective community replanning are the subject of a book, not an article, but assuming the necessary community consciousness and conscience and proper leadership, the starting place is a consideration of the peculiar needs of the community. These will vary according to such factors as the topography of the locality, its location in relation to urban centers, the nature of the population and the present condition of the community structure. No standardized plan will serve, for even if these factors were alike in all communities, each must develop individuality and community rivalry must furnish much of the motive power for the enterprise. Even in respect to the needs which are general, the methods of meeting them and the resources for doing so will vary greatly. The brief statement here attempted in the way of helpful suggestions pertinent to the work must be limited to very general and tentative considerations or to the replanning of specific localities. In the way of general suggestions, nothing more than certain guiding principles is attempted. No effort is made to arrange these suggestions in climactic order. Perhaps there is no such order, but there are certain considerations, all of which are necessary to happy, healthy and wealthy community life.

RE-PLANNING OF VILLAGE OF RICHLAND, MICH.
320 FAMILIES - 1 SQ MI.



THE most obvious need of rural community replanning, especially in the southern, middle-western and western states, is that of esthetic improvement. There is a relation between beauty and goodness. Prof. Charles H. Cooley says, ". . . the esthetic and moral values may seem quite unconnected, as in the case of a man with a 'fair outside' but a bad character, and yet we feel that there is something beautiful about perfect goodness and something good about perfect beauty." Other kinds of beauty are not very different in their effects from that of music the purpose of which, according to Beethoven, "is to bring about a oneness of emotion, and thus suggest to our minds the coming time of universal brotherhood." It is difficult for a community, as for an individual, to maintain or create much self-respect or become respectable if its external appearance is unsightly. The community must lay aside its rags and tatters and put on new raiment before it can expect railroad companies or anyone else to respect it.

If it is to live artistically it must dress the part, and no phase of American life offers a greater challenge to the architectural and landscape artist than does the rural community. Nowhere else are the resources of nature so much at his disposal, and in no urban community is the attainment of his ideal so little costly. The necessary expense of money and labor in the destruction of property, rearrangement of streets, zoning and the acquiring of materials for esthetic improvement is much less than in urban centers. The only difficult task in rural beautification is the creation of esthetic appreciation and the cooperative spirit necessary to its attainment on the part of rural people. "The beautiful," said J. F. Millet, "consists not so much in the thing represented as in the longing to represent it." This longing must be created. The initiative in the project will probably have to be taken by the village center, but it must extend to the limits of the community.

Beauty must be enshrined and worshiped in the rural community, and her priests must be the architect, the landscape gardener, the sculptor and the civil engineer. The offerings for her worship are an artistic public square, public and private buildings, a park, a green lawn, a tree, a flower, a hedge, a stone wall, a creek, an artificial or natural pond or pool, a bridge, a can of paint, a monument, a wide, dustless street, and a burnt offering of all the wayside advertising signs. The community may well show its appreciation of its dead members by giving their resting place perpetual care, but the haunts of the living are in even (*Continued on page* 486)

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The Planner's Five-Foot Shelf

By CAROL ARONOVICI

THE industrial age has forced upon us a new community-consciousness. This has brought about a revolution in the whole scheme of thinking on community building with an attendant torrent of literature on city and regional planning which baffles both student and technician by its quantity and varying values. The development of functional technique has led to such high specialization that there is danger of obscuring the perspective of the whole scheme of planning cities as social organisms, deriving their functions from a complexity of forces and conditions which extend into the deep recesses of many arts and sciences without which an understanding of community development is impossible.

In attempting to outline these readings in community planning I have therefore departed from the orthodox method of listing highly specialized standard works and have delved into the more remote sources which have a value in tempering our tendency toward technical functionalism by conveying an understanding and vision of the more human purposes of our communities.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the arts and sciences can no longer make progress in isolation. Medicine, engineering, law, are closely related to planning, and geography, archeology, history have their parts in opening the way towards community understanding. The higher the specialization the greater the value of the collateral sciences in keeping their application from confusing technique with knowledge. It is with this conception in mind that I shall endeavor to outline a list of literature which might prove of value to the student of city planning and free him of the technical despotism of formally established principles and recognized practices.

General Literature

CITIES, like individuals, have their characteristics, their striking spiritual and physical peculiarities, or should have them. Machine-made cities for machine-dominated men, a ready-cut for all localities and all climates, are the enemies of civic culture. They merely synthesize our "civic vacuum" into physical reality. There is much to be found in literature which would help in the understanding of planning. Zola in his Paris, Aronld Bennett in his series of novels, the Five Towns, and his The Chard, have expressed forcibly the characteristics of this individuality of our communities and in his Clayhanger, Bennett has shown the striving toward something better in community life. H. G. Wells's New Machiavelli, aside from its value as literature, is a burning tract in favor of good community planning. Reade's Cloister and the Hearth furnishes the canons and background upon which human life traces its short span and takes on much of the color and feeling which past generations have impressed upon the older cities. Ruskin in his books on Florence, Venice and Amiens has left a picture which may inspire many a planner with new ideals in community building. We should not forget that most remarkable book of Robert Louis Stevenson's called Edinburgh, in which with characteristic penetration he reveals the spirit of the beautiful and great city.

The poetry of this country is filled with interesting allusions to the spirit of our cities, but the most outstanding of all poets who have dealt with the relation between city and country is the Belgian Emile Verhaeren who in his Les Campagnes Hallucinées and Les Villes Tentaculaires rises to epic heights in describing the movement of people from country to city and the vampire-like destruction of human life that results from city existence. Our own Walt Whitman in his poems brings home to us the sense of external reality and the rhythm of inner life as they interplay in our communities.

Much has been written in descriptive form on the spiritual character of European cities. Arthur Symons in his essays on Ravenna, Sienna, Verona, reveals a deep understanding of the power and vision of a people who could express themselves through their cities, could create a lasting heritage of beauty which a modern age can admire and try to understand but may never hope to emulate. Edward Hutton has done much to make Italian cities understandable as highly integrated creations which harmonize the history of peoples with the history of cities.

Utopias

MAN has ever made progress through discontent. Utopia means nowhere, but being spelled Eutopia, which means a better place, it has been the subject of many creative writers who have had a dream of a new and better city. Plato in his Republic has given us glimpses of an utopian city-state. This has had lasting influence upon our social thinking in terms of community living. Plutarch in his famous Lives, published about the first century after Christ, pictures an ideal city-state in his chapter on Lycurgus. The inspiration of these two works and the discovery of America in the fifteenth century gave impetus to Sir Thomas More and his famous Utopia was published in 1515. Because of its biting satire, it had to be printed at Louvain under the editorship of Erasmus and never saw the light in England for a long time. A century later (1629) Francis Bacon wrote his New Atlantis, which advanced many new and practical ideas for the building of the ideal city. Campanella wrote his Civitas Solis (City of the Sun) about the same time that Bacon wrote the New Atlantis. This was so radical a departure from the ordinary concept of the ideal city that Campanella, after being subjected to the persecution of the Spanish Inquisition, finally found his way to Paris where he sought the protection of Cardinal Richelieu and the King of France, who gave him a pension and permitted him to continue his work. He was probably the first radical planner subjected to inquisitorial treatment and exile.

Shifting from the idealist Utopian to the more practical efforts towards better cities we find James Silk Buckingham (1849) setting forth a scheme for a model town in his book called Victoria. Later on Sir Benjamin Richardson proposed a plan for a paradise of health in his epoch-making book called Hygeia. This was followed by William Morris's News from Nowhere, which in rather concrete form describes a practical way of creating a New London.

In 1899 Ebenezer Howard published his Tomorrow. This inexperienced utopian devised a scheme which eventually culminated in the English garden-city movement which later spread to France and other countries. Prompted by the vision of international cooperation and harmony, Hans Christian Andersen undertook a work called Creation of a World Center. This work seems to have been inspired by the brother of the author and the drawings by the famous French artist Ernest Hebrard, are models of design and represent a boldness of concept that can find a parallel only in the attempts to develop our great skyscraper cities. Others have attempted various utopian schemes, one of the most interesting of which is The City of Tomorrow by Le Corbusier, an outstanding revolutionist in both architecture and city planning.

Urbanism

ONLY within recent years has the study of the nature of cities been included in the wide range of sociological investigation. The French have developed the term urbanism to designate a field of the study. The literature is so vast that I shall attempt to mention only a few of the more modern writers in the hope that the reader will keep a sharp eye upon the new literature which is

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rapidly finding its place as a branch of the social sciences. The one sociologist who gave attention to the relation between geographic conditions and community development and whose work is outstanding was Guillaume De Greff who in his Introduction to Sociology (1886) pointed out with great clearness how the physical environment determines social organizations. In 1896 Ratzel developed the idea further in his Anthropogeography and later in his smaller work, Der Staat und sein Boden.

René Maurier in his L'Origine et La Fonction Economique des Villes developed an excellent monograph from the economic development of cities. The bibliography will prove of great value in the study of urban problems from the planning point of view. It might be mentioned in passing that the idea of regional planning was first formulated in 1588 by an Italian writer named Botero in a pamphlet entitled Delle Cause delle Grandezza e Magnificenza delle Citte. The economist Sombart developed the broad concept that certain laws govern the development of cities. This work was published under the title Der Begriff der Stadt und das Wesen der Stadtebildung (Braun's Archiv. 1907). In 1912 the Smithsonian Institution published a monograph called Urbanism, an Historic and Geographic Study, a translation from a French work by Pierre Clerget. In this country John Giffin Thompson published the first book on urbanism under the title, Urbanization, Its Effects on Government and Society, a rather critical study of value to city planners. The most outstanding technical work in this field however is Martin Leinert's book, Die Socialgeschicht der Grossstadt. This book promises to become a classic and its bibliography is of wide range and importance.

No city planner should fail to read Prof. Patrick Geddes' book, Cities in Evolution, which was epoch-making when it was published sixteen years ago and is still of great value as a text on urbanism. In the same classification of books which are semi-philosophical in character is to be included Victor Brandford's Interpretations and Forecasts (1914) and his Science and Sanctity (1923). Jointly with Professor Geddes, Brandford published in 1917 The Coming Polity. All of these books while not to be considered as essentially texts, are important works dealing with urbanism in its social and human significance. Their critical rather than expository character gives the student a peculiar sense of the failures of modern community life and the almost religious significance of civic endeavor.

In this country we find some splendid work on urbanism, such as the writings of Prof. Ernest W. Burgess and the group around the University of Chicago whose medium of expression is The American Journal of Sociology. The Urban Community, edited by Professor Burgess, should be mentioned in this connection and the book called The City, by Prof. Robert Ezra Park.

That we are a long way from giving the urban community the intensive study it deserves may be realized by a comparison between European and American literature on the subject. I regret that only a few of the main titles in European literature are of sufficient use from the point of view of the more specialized student of city planning.

PATRICK GEDDES

No one in the history of constructive thinking in community terms has known better than Patrick Geddes how to derive dynamic dramatic values out of scientific facts. Geographer, biologist, philosopher, sociologist, planner and builder of communities, Geddes was the first to glean the creative evolutionary forces that make for the new community. Facing the evils of the present day civic vacuum he saw the future as an adventure into new structures of communities in which the "paliotechnic" methods of the present and past generations will give way to the "neotechnic" of the regional integration of communal life to the building of which all the sciences and philosophies of the day will make their contribution. Out of the tangle of political entities of the present he endeavored to formulate the human regions of the future in which natural surroundings will harmonize with human institutions.

It may seem a far cry from city planning to Applied Sociology, but Prof. Lester F. Ward's book by this name is a masterly treatment of the influences of environmental factors upon creative genius. Taking Odin's work, Genese des Grands Hommes, as a basis, Professor Ward develops the idea that cities have certain influences upon creative genius which the sparsely settled areas do not possess. For an understanding of the great value of highly centralized human activity as represented by urban life, Applied Sociology is indispensable. Last but not least of the books on urbanism must be mentioned Urban Sociology by Nels Anderson and Eduard C. Lindeman. This is the best available treatise on urbanism, dealing with the broad sociological aspects of community organization and building.

In France, where the term urbanism had its origin, there are many important books. The most recent of these, Qu'est ce que l'Urbanisme, by Pierre Lavedan, seems the most authoritative. Marcel Poëte has published a number of monographs on the nature of the city, but his most interesting is Une Vie de Cité (1924), which contains detailed and keen analysis of the various social, economic, political and geographic forces which have been at play in creating the city of Paris. The school of French *Urbanistes* will in the future produce some good things if the School of Urbanism, established in connection with the Sorbonne in Paris, keeps developing as it has in the last few years.

General Textbooks

THERE has been no shortage of textbooks on city planning. In fact we have had so many that there has been a tendency to repeat well-established facts and accepted doctrines without the more intimate analysis and criticism which these facts need and deserve. When an art or a science becomes too much textbooked, it tends to grow sterile and lack the impetus of research.

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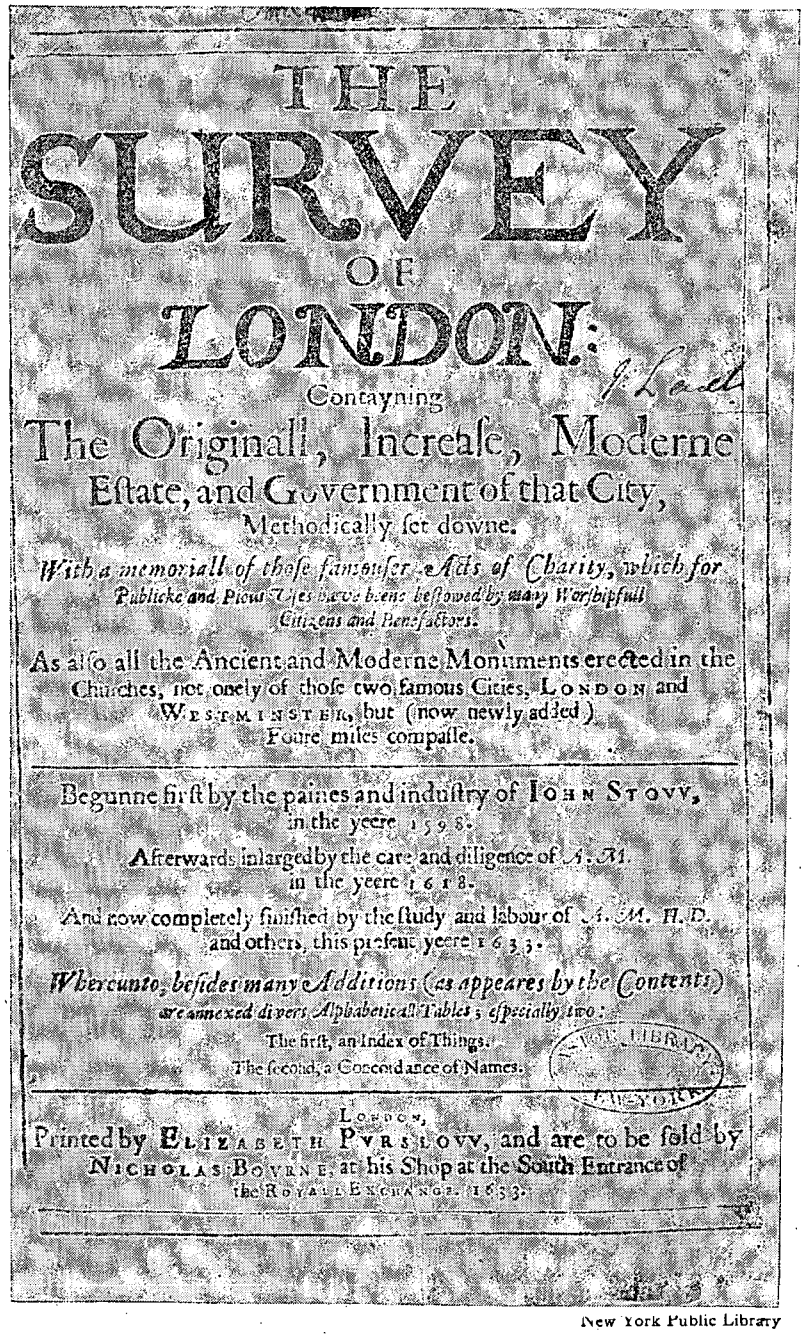
The most important work on general planning, with all its errors, is still Stubben's Der Stadtbau. The classification of the subject matter and the wealth of information contained in this work only need some revision as to facts and some modernizing —it is now fifty years old—to be of considerable value. In 1909 Town Planning Past, Present and Possible by H. Inigo-Triggs, was published in England and was followed in 1911 by a more thorough work, Town Planning in Practice by Raymond Unwin. This bids fair to become a classic in the category of such works as Stubben's and others. Henry R. Aldridge in 1915, after long years of service as secretary of the National Housing and Town Planning Council of England, published his Case for City Planning. In this large volume of nearly seven hundred pages one finds a wealth of planning information and authentic broad outlook.

Since the publication of The Case for Town Planning two other textbooks or general treatises have appeared in England, one by T. Harold Hughes and E. A. G. Lamborn, which deals with the architectural aspects of planning to a large extent; the other, Town Planning and Town Development by S. D. Adshead, a man of practical experience and a teacher of the subject. Both these books were printed in 1923. The year before, Werner Hegemann in cooperation with Elbert Peets published in this country a monumental work called The Modern Vitruvius. As the title suggests it deals largely with the architectural aspects of planning, but it is generally valuable because of the treatment and the application of general principles to American conditions. Earlier, in 1913, Dr. Hegemann had published two volumes on planning, Der Stadtbau, which were filled with important and interesting information, but the author seems to have been in something of a quandary as to whether to make a report on the Berlin and Düsseldorf City Planning Expositions or a text on general planning. The two volumes are of considerable value.

In France, a number of books have departed somewhat from the usual treatment of the esthetic aspects and have dealt with the more practical requirements of planning. Among these should be cited particularly La Science des Plans de Villes by A. Augustin Rey, Justin Pidoux and Charles Barde. This book is free from the sentimentalism that one often finds in city planning literature coming from France and I hope it will soon find a translator and American publisher as I believe it is of great value with much that is of practical application in America.


THE
SURVEY
OF
LONDON:
Contayning
The Originall, Increase, Moderne
Estate, and Government of that City,
Methodically set downe.
With a memoriall of those famous or Acts of Charity, which for
Publicke and Pious Vses have been bestowed by many Worshipfull
Citizens and Benefactors.
As also all the Ancient and Moderne Monuments erected in the
Churches, not onely of those two famous Cities, LONDON and
WESTMINSTER, but (now newly added)
Foure miles compasse.
Begunne first by the paines and industry of IOHN STOVV,
in the yeere 1598.
Afterwards inlarged by the care and diligence of A. M.
in the yeere 1618.
And now completely finished by the study and labour of A. M. H. D.
and others, this present yeere 1633.
Whereunto, besides many Additions (as appeares by the Contents)
are annexed divers Alphabeticall Tables, especially two:
The first, an Index of Things.
The second, a Concordance of Names.
LONDON,
Printed by ELIZABETH PVRSLOVV, and are to be sold by
NICHOLAS BOVRNE, at his Shop at the South Entrance of
the ROYALL EXCHANGE. 1633.

New York Public Library

Title page of the first survey of London

The Survey

THE survey of the city is a method of measuring qualitatively and quantitatively facts relating to the city in their relation to time, mass and space. Victor Brandford defines the end of the survey as the means of making us see Eutopia and seeing, create it. This seems to me to be something of a confusion between vision and visualization. Accepting the first definition as the accurate one, it is obvious that the survey must deal with the art of counting, measuring, evaluating, comparing and correlating community facts. Without this process of fact-finding and fact-analysis there could be no scientific planning. There might be design, but there could be no real plan.

It is important therefore that we have before us some of the outstanding literature on the subject of surveys. The social survey idea began with the mathematico-mechanical school which endeavored to apply to social institutions the accurate method of mathematics. Beginning with the early part of the seventeenth century with Pascal, and running through the early part of the eighteenth century with Bernnoulli (1654–1705), we find an increasing interest in statistics as applied to human beings and their social relationships. In England we find William Pitt (1623–87) writing his Political Arithmetic. From this time on there was a great deal of progress in the study of mathematical facts in relation to human institutions which with Leibnitz came to a climax in the invention of differential calculus on the one hand and the theory of the continuity of human institutions on the other. It is quite out of the question to go into details here about the vast literature which developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which dealt with social measurements. We must however speak of two writers, Adolphe Quetelet (1796–1874) and Pierre Frederic Guillaume LePlay (1806–1882). Quetelet was the first to formulate with some mathematical precision the relation between economic phenomena and social institutions and his book on Social Physics published in 1869—a revised edition—and his Anthropometry published in 1876, will give the student a certain vision of the gropings that the scientists had to go through before the development of modern survey methods.

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It was Frederic LePlay however, who in the words of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, used the method which he calls "the social microscope." In his Ouvriers Europeens he made minute studies of individual families from the Ural Mountains to the City of Paris and these studies he subjected to the broadest social interpretation. The social surveyor and the case worker of the present day would do well to read some of these monographs of families in order to find out how a real study of a family in all its relations and manifestations should be made. The method of LePlay has resulted in the development of a school of surveys by the monograph method which has found many disciples in England among whom may be counted Patrick Geddes and his followers. In France LePlay has become the symbol of social investigation of the kind that deals with the present as opposed to the German method which is invariably of a historical nature.

The books already mentioned under the names of Victor Brandford and Geddes have much to say about the need for the sociological survey, but only in recent years have we come to the realization that surveys must precede all social reform or community planning and replanning. Eduard C. Lindeman's Social Discovery should find a place on the shelf of any one who undertakes a social or community survey. It will give that balance of understanding of values that no other work will give.

Of guides to the social survey we have had so many in recent years that it is hard to choose among them. None fully satisfies the needs of city planning and for this reason I shall mention first two French publications: Comment Reconstruire Nos Cites Detruites with the subtitle, Notions d'Urbanisme s'Appliquant Aux Villes, Bourgs et Villages by Agache, Auburtin and Redont, 1915, deals with the rebuilding of the devastated areas after the war, although it was written and published less than a year after the war began. This is not the usual guide with a series of questions; it is rather a discussion of the problems which must be considered and the sources from which social, legal, economic, historic and esthetic information must be secured. The second book is Preliminaries d'Art Civique by Louis van der Swaelmen. This is a guide in the strict sense of the word and should be useful in any office where city plans are being prepared. If it could be translated and changed somewhat to meet American needs it would be an excellent classroom textbook. No good library on planning can afford to overlook it.

As to American guides, I am inclined to think that there is not a single book which could be used with confidence in a survey which is essentially for planning purposes. There are of course many pamphlets such as the ones issued by the Sage Foundation, and Professor Elmer's book on The Social Survey. There are however two works along this line which are of value, namely, George A. Lundberg's Social Research and Prof. Howard W. Odum's and Katherine Jacker's book, An Introduction to Social Research. My own book, The Social Survey, and the pamphlet, Knowing One's Own Community, are both out of date and not especially designed for city planning purposes.

It may be said that we have no survey guide in America which could be used by city planners with advantage. The only other source of information is to be found in the many surveys of cities made prior to the preparation of plans. The most outstanding in this respect is, of course, the study called the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs. A careful reading of various volumes will reveal many of the methods of survey which should be applied in this country. There are also other studies connected with the various planning reports, but I venture the assertion that in no case will the student find the broad outlook upon the problems to be considered that is present in the New York studies.

It is rather strange that although the best regional and local surveys have been made in England all the guides so far published are of minor significance and of little use in America. Here it may be mentioned that the surveys made in several cities and regions in England are of very considerable value. Among these may be mentioned The Dublin Civic Survey by Horace T. O'Rourke; The Cork Civic Survey by Patrick Abercrombie and Sydney Kelly; The Warral Peninsula, an Outline Regional Survey, by W. Hewitt; Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme, which contains a survey and was prepared by Patrick Abercrombie and B. F. Brusston. In fact all of the English surveys are valuable and broad in scope.

Before closing one should make special mention of Middletown by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd. This is, as the subtitle indicates, A Study in Contemporary American Culture. It is in my estimation the most important study of a community that we have had so far in this country and bears on planning needs with peculiar sharpness in which the critical analysis of community thinking, working, feeling, relate closely to the physical structure of the place and the social relations of the people.

History of Planning

While from a technical point of view it would seem that the history of planning would have largely a cultural value and would be of little use in an age so far changed from earlier times, it is clear from historical planographical studies that the evolution of our street systems and the development of open space arrangements is closely allied to the present-day system of planning, an understanding of which will be of help.

There are of course numerous studies of the history of planning, but we shall only mention those that are easily available and of greatest usefulness. Ancient Town Planning by F. Haverfield is one of the most interesting pieces of writing on this subject and the illustrations are well chosen and clearly reproduced. Mediaeval Town Planning by T. F. Tout, while valuable and well done insofar as it brings out the most outstanding town-planning events of the Middle Ages, is rather sketchy and there is too much about England and too little about the other countries of Europe.

The German bibliography on city planning history is filled with outstanding works of high quality and scientific accuracy. One of the most important of these works is Armin von Gerken's Griechische Stadtanlagen Untersuchungen zur Entwickelung des Stadtebaues im Altertum (1924).This deals with Greece and the Roman Orient. To this may be added a very interesting sociological study of ancient planning by R. von Lichtenfeld which bears the inclusive title: Haus, Dorf, Stadt, Eine Entwickelungsgeschichte des antiken Stadtbildes (Berlin 1909). The most recent German book which has considerable value both as sociology and planography is Paul Zucker's Entwiklung des Stadtbildes (Berlin 1931).

The French have done comparatively little work along this line except some specific studies of small regions and in close relation to French cities.

Those not able to go to the original sources for historical material will find in Dr. Unwin's Town Planning in Practice, Inigo-Triggs' Town Planning Past Present and Possible, and in Aldridge's The Case for Town Planning, historical material sufficient for an understanding of the main trends of planning evolution.

This is not a complete bibliography either from the point of view of the subject matter with which planning is concerned or of all the most outstanding works in various fields. Archaeology, geography, land economics, group psychology, esthetics, have an intimate relation to the subject.

With housing, city planning, urbanism, regional planning assuming new significance as they attempt the task of harmonizing horsecart theories and practices of community building, not only is a new technique being evolved but a new filiation of this technique to the sciences is being emphasized.

The engineer, the architect, the planner of neighborhoods and the replanning of metropolitan centers suddenly finds that none of the fundamentals of his profession have been thought through in terms of a new civilization. He is hard pressed for a philosophy of his vocation while he is conscious that he only possesses skill which lacks both social breadth and scientific penetration. Out of this consciousness will be born the planning literature of the future. In ten years our standard texts like our standardized methods of planning will become merely the record of obsolescent thinking and worthy only of the historians' curiosity and zeal.

Throughout the civilized world a new science and art of community building is taking shape and a new literature is coming into being.

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The Passionate Pilgrim

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

MORE than forty years an irreparable cripple, in her wheeled chair she has sat and traveled, unimaginable distances, journeying to places and seeing things beyond the ken of some at least of the hardiest and most venturesome explorers.

Travel always was her passion. From her little childhood she dreamed and talked of it. Before she could read she pored over books that pictured far lands and strange peoples; at any instant she would leave her play to listen rapt to any talk of journeyings—anywhere, even to the next village. The fantastic paired animals of her Noah's Ark to her represented no Bible tale but stood for real ones in jungles wherein some day she meant to roam. As soon as she learned to sew she clad her dolls in the garb of one race or another; for her they "came alive" in their proper setting of locality and custom. Something in her yearned to see beyond horizons. Time and again, beginning almost as soon as she could toddle, her family brought her back in squealing indignation from appalling distances down the dusty roads or from over the tops of the environing hills, the other side of which she simply had to see, with insatiable longing there to go yet farther. In school, geography was her consuming obsession; she did not have to "study" it—before she went there she knew by heart all that the school-books could tell her and vastly more; her teachers could not suppress her eagerness to amplify them. Every foot of earth, and the doings thereon, past, present and possible, enthralled her.

Nor was it only earth that enticed her curiosity. When she was three she demanded to know about the moon; not such of it as she could see, but "the *other side* of it."

"Some day I am going there," she said. From that it was a short jump to the sun and the farthest stars. Doubtless it was a lucky thing that there was no airplane then; she would have challenged the laurels of Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart, and all others of that ilk. And this was before the days of automobiles. But she knew about balloons, and one of her favorite ditties was the then familiar

> Up in a balloon, boys,
> Up in a balloon!
> Up among the little stars
> That twinkle 'round the moon!

OF course she was athletic. She had horses; her father was of considerable wealth; she rode like a Centaur, and spent more than one summer riding on a Far Western ranch. This was before the days of much golf in America; but she was adept at tennis, rowed, canoed and sailed, and in swimming could give points to a mermaid, or a frog. With a rifle or pistol she was a sure shot, and notable trout, salmon and deep-sea fish surrendered to her prowess. But she longed to do these things in other lands. During her girlhood she made the usual "grand tour" of Europe with her mother, who died while she was away at school and did not much approve of her adventurous ambitions.

Her father had long promised nevertheless that upon her graduation from college she should make a journey round the world with him. No ordinary tourist expedition it was to be, but a thing after her own heart; going off the beaten track; exploring dangerous rivers, camping in deserts, climbing mountains, perhaps even riding elephants in pursuit of great game in the jungles. For this she worked in college, delving into all manner of queer lore of little-known corners of the world. And at last the time came to get about it; her father by this time almost as enthusiastic as she about what they were to do and see. Fancy the books they read, the maps and charts they conned, the foreign languages they dabbled in! There were even consultations with famed explorers and naturalists; investigation of ships and routes, drawing up of itineraries; correspondence coming in with fascinating stamps and postmarks. Shopping for clothing and equipment and lists of still more, to be gathered up in famous outfitting places abroad; visions of colorful bazars in Cairo, Bombay, Yokohama, Singapore. Life was lived in an imagined aroma of foreign streets and sandal-wood, and densely-packed human habitations, over there beyond the sunrise.

IN the midst of all this, and to her immense surprise and dismay, she fell in love, deeply, profoundly, with a young doctor, son of one of her father's college friends and like him a surgeon, of growing renown, specialist somewhat in injuries to the spine. Almost did this wreck her whole project; here was strong temptation to surrender the dream of her life and settle down to domesticity. Certainly her lover pleaded for it, long and hard enough; she almost yielded. But she knew, and her father knew—yes, and her fiancé knew too—that it was too much to ask of her, or for her to ask of herself. She never would be content; all her life it would be gnawing, gnawing, perhaps fatally, at the roots of happiness. After all, a year would not be long to wait, and, as her father said: "She'd better get it out of her system."

"If I were not going on this journey, to which my whole life has really been devoted, I would marry you tomorrow—yes, today," she said to her lover. "And when I come home—"

"And if anything should happen to prevent your going, will you marry me then, right away?"

"Of course I will; I promise that. But nothing can—unless something dreadful, like death, or accident. Maybe then you would not want to marry me!"

"I should want to marry you if you were never to lift your head from your pillow again. While there is breath in your body—or mine. 'Till death us do part'!" he cried, fervently. And with swimming eyes, yet gaily she answered him, "So that's a promise, and it goes for me, too."

THE wondrous morning came. The baggage was gone, long since; the house was clad and closed against a long unoccupancy. Immediately the carriage would be at the door, within the hour the train would leave to take them to the seaport and the ship. And here was the young doctor, his heart in his throat, to take his leave of her for what seemed to him an unconscionable separation. There at the head of the stairs she stood, coming down to him for the final farewell . . . .

She caught her heel on the edge of the top step, missed her footing and plunged headlong. Over and over down the long flight, and lay a motionless heap at his feet.

I do not know exactly the nature of the dreadful injury to her spine; nor whether, had the accident happened now, today's surgical skill might have been better able to remedy it. Enough to say that after lingering with dire suffering a hair's-breadth this side of death for many weary months, she came alive again—hopelessly paralyzed from the waist down, condemned through all the rest of her life to sit.

HE held her to her promise—and his own. Against her protest and those of all others, including her father and his, he answered irresistibly:

"Suppose we had been married, and this had happened a year, a week, an hour afterward, you would not be saying these things; you would not deny me the happiness, to say nothing of the duty,

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of caring for her. To whom, and to what, under the name of living, would you have me abandon her? So far as I am or ever shall be concerned, we are married now; we were married when I asked her to be my wife. And for what have I been devoting all this time to the study of spinal injuries?" And with a grim humor he would add, "Let there be no more interference with my professional duty. Here is my best-beloved and most appealing patient!"

That was that, and they were married. But no skill of his or his father's could greatly mitigate her condition. His unremitting devotion to her, his participation in her interests and hers in his, until he died a few years ago, one of the distinguished martyrs to his profession—all that would be another story. . . .

HER interests. The same as ever, though it was some time before she came to realize that what was nearest to her spirit need not be wiped out by that disaster.

It was her husband's father who opened the door of freedom for her. He came upon her once, out in the garden of her father's house, in her wheel-chair and in tears.

"I did so want to travel!" she sobbed. "And now I am imprisoned in this chair, in this broken body."

"But, my dear girl," said the old doctor, very gently, tenderly, laying his big hand over hers, "you can travel, you shall travel."

"Why, you know, you yourself have acknowledged to me, that I cannot stir a step, now or ever!"

Long ago, the first time I met her, in that very garden, at that very spot, she told me how the old man left her with a mysterious air to cut four sticks from the shrubbery, whittle them sharp and push them into the ground marking off a square some six feet in diameter around her. At the time she told me of this, many years afterward, there were white posts there, where the doctor's sticks originally were driven.

"You shall travel here," he said.

"What in the world do you mean?"

"Most people, when they speak of traveling are thinking of far distances in miles, of wide spaces and things of what they regard as enormous size. They little realize that within the space that you can cover with a handkerchief, or with your hand for that matter, there is a little-explored world of even greater interest and variety. A world of things that we call small, infinitesimal. Here I have marked off a space within reach of your hand as you sit there and fancy yourself hopelessly confined, the scope of which you never could exhaust. Though you live, as I hope you may, to be a very old woman, you cannot possibly see or in great measure understand what there is here. Small as may seem this superficial area between these pegs, it is a microcosm of the universe. Here are fauna and flora—clear down to the minutest plants and animal life, as various and as interesting, as any you would find in the most inaccessible corner of the earth. Here at your feet are crystals not essentially different from those you might climb five miles to dig out from under the snow on a mountain-top. Here are all the problems of science and philosophy, the relationships and interplay of things. There in that corner is for instance even a nest of ants. And within any scarcely visible speck of sand or dust—right there on the edge of your chair-arm, you can probe in and in and in. For it is just as far *in* from where you sit now, as it is *out*. Size and distance—why, God bless my soul—on horseback you used to think nothing of a mile, but—imagine what a mile must be to one of those ants!"

SO the vision came to me," this chair-ridden old lady went on to say, "and I have sat and traveled. He gave me this microscope" —it was on a little table beside her—"and showed me how to use it. We got a little aquarium, and stocked it with fascinating things. In the house we set up a modest chemical laboratory, where I have analyzed the substance of my little farm, and found most unsuspected things in the way of minerals—even traces of gold.

"As for distances—I am enjoying now the conceptions, new to me, of the spaces within matter, between molecules and atoms, of the unimaginable relationships among the elements, irresistibly drawn together, yet held apart by the power of that inscrutable Energy 'in which we live and move and have our being.' And jungles—under that microscope this morning I have been observing the doings in a terrible place, as it were primeval forest, where great monsters roam and battle, and devour."

The last time I called upon her she had a book in her hand—it was Stewart Edward White's Credo—and said:

"I have been watching some travelers, thinking of them as scooting about hastily, restlessly, until their drop of water, their whole universe, suddenly evaporated around them. And then I stumbled upon this book. Listen:

> We might follow one of these tiny organisms from birth to death without losing an inordinate amount of our valuable time. His whole voyage of life among the bays and estuaries and channels and open seas is compassed and finished while we look; and perhaps his whole teeming complicated world evaporates under our eyes. . . . We estimate that his voyage took about a second, perhaps two. How do we know? As far as he is concerned, he may not be a hasty creature at all; but one of extreme and cautious deliberation. There is no earthly reason to suppose that his day-cycles take their regulation from our own days. Indeed it is quite probable that what we might call his days—his alternations of rest and activity—are conditioned on quite other circumstances. While we watched him, in that two seconds accorded him, he may quite well have been coaling up in the first harbor for several of his days. His voyage across the inlet may have been long and rather monotonous. In the second harbor he may have lingered in recuperation for a day or so more; and then started out, like Christopher Columbus, over vast and uncharted seas.

IN the attic of the house, to which she could be taken by an elevator especially constructed for her purposes, there was a telescope, through which she might travel to her ever-beloved stars; she was doing some work, too, with the spectroscope, and there is, I believe, a well-esteemed pamphlet of hers, on The Universal Gases. Other things she wrote, as the product of her travels "in-and-in." There is, too, one entitled Thirty-Six Feet of History, dealing with the adventures of her little tract, under the feet of the Indians, the Dutch, the rebels of the Helderberg "Anti-Rent Wars."

"This region was part of the old Van Rensselaer domain," she said to me. "And to learn about that I had to go back to Holland —in my mind and my books, of course—and to read up the whole history of this part of the state. And that led me on a side-trip into forestry; for I had to learn why this region was once all covered with hemlocks. That old giant there is a survivor of those the tanneries cleaned out. Now I am explaining to myself why we find, here at an elevation of nearly two thousand feet, so many purely marine fossils. Every day I am reminded afresh of what my old friend said, about my never living long enough to do more than scratch the surface of my tiny farm. Tiny?—sometimes it seems to me that I am confronting a whole continent, or trying to explore an impenetrable forest. I started awhile ago to card-index the forms of life that I have myself seen right here. There are the cards, in those long boxes. The days are too short to make much progress."

The days too short—for a chair-imprisoned cripple! I shall not attempt to describe, though you perhaps will find yourself trying to imagine, the serenity, and too the never-failingly interested alertness, of this old lady's face—always beautiful but made ineffably more so by the discipline of suffering, self-conquest, sternly-acquired composure and poise of character. Travel, the pushing back of horizons, the realization of far-flung and ever widening interests, does something inscrutable to personality. Self-centredness and provincialism dissolve as one increases the sense of fellowship and acquaintance with persons and things beyond the ordinary frontiers of life.

The other day she broke her shackles, abandoned her wheeled chair and the broken body borne with so long, and now I dare assume is fulfilling to the utmost the dream so tragically interrupted —exploring for aught I know, that coveted "other side of the moon," or mayhap the flaming heart of Betelgeuse at the top of Orion. *Bon voyage!*

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Voters' Dilemma

THE COMING OF A NEW PARTY *by Paul H. Douglass. McGraw-Hill. 236 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
A NEW DEAL *by Stuart Chase. Macmillan. 257 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
SOCIALIST PLANNING AND A SOCIALIST PROGRAM *edited by Harry W. Laidler. Falcon Press. 255 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
PEACE VETERANS *by Roger Burlingame. Minton, Balch & Co. 80 pp. Price $1.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
MORE MERRY-GO-ROUND *by the authors of Washington Merry-Go-Round. Liveright. 482 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE INSOLENCE OF OFFICE *by W. B. Northrop and J. B. Northrop. Putnam. 306 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
WASHINGTON SWINDLE SHEET *by William P. Helm. A. and C. Boni. 249 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES *by Jose Ortega y Gasset. Norton. 204 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

AUTUMN is the true birth of the year for man as for society. Spring brings renascence to Nature and man in Nature; in Summer we do our outdoor chores gathering food and health (we are stoutest in September); now we confront ourselves and our institutions. Not in years have we returned more sober or more daring. We even had a lesson from the sun: the thrill of the eclipse was that men *could* foretell, though they apologized for being three fifths of a second off! Thus Science in Nature. But who can foretell anything about Society? Has totality in the economic eclipse been passed? Does sporadic violence by farmers and miners forebode revolution? Nay, who will be the next President? We begin to want less guessing on the edge of chaos, and more science (or even sense) in human affairs. People everywhere are getting over their personal depression shock—they want to *do* something. The first possible act now is to vote for President. How?

The independent, conscientious seeker for light will find that Paul Douglass has written the best available discussion of the question that is perplexing many men: Shall we help form a new party? John Dewey's foreword declares that the book should be "compulsory reading for all citizens." Douglass first outlines with clarity and persuasiveness the things that demand remedying and the measures needed. Then he seeks to prove that we cannot get these measures through the old parties either by seizing them, cooperating with them, coercing them, as labor seeks to do, or by "boring from within." He takes up the Democratic and Republican organizations state by state to show the impossibility of changing their spots. He believes that Governor Roosevelt, however liberal or well intentioned, cannot transcend his party. Finally, he outlines the steps necessary for a new party.

He is a realist in facing the problems of procedure, such as, the need to work through forty-eight states; the divorce between executive and legislature; the election of legislators by plurality vote in single-member districts (and so urges proportional voting); and the power of the Supreme Court to set aside legislation. And the problem of blocs, such as integrating the farmer and labor interests, supporting good Socialists (that means for him Norman Thomas this year) without endorsing their entire philosophy, and keeping out the Communists. The difficulties are clear, but he believes they have been overestimated. The chief difficulty he does not emphasize—what motivation will make great numbers of men and women do the dull, long-drawn out, oft defeated, discouraging hard work down in the grass roots to form the party and keep it going? This demands indeed a faith, as he says, a faith in the worth-whileness of life and that government can be made an agent for collective good. This will be buttressed by the clear recognition of the senseless evils we now suffer from. Have we enough of such faith and such recognition to work with?

OUR present situation seems this: the old system has broken down. Stuart Chase devotes two fine chapters to a study of the debacle of laissez-faire. We are coming to a certain agreement on some of the causes and cures. We are willing to start afresh with Chase's question: What is an economic system for? and to agree that it is to distribute the wealth produced by the basic equation of land, people, and technical skill, with collective management for individual good. The planks of a program are emerging: a permanent money, so that values will not shift and we shall have some kind of price stability; security, through insurance and social legislation; the control of investment and so of excess plant; government expenditure for public works such as roads and housing; the taxation of wealth and the relief of the farmer from tax burdens; reorganization of certain sick industries like coal, textiles, oil; international cooperation; the development of a social philosophy of plan.

IF you are interested in what American Socialism offers in 1932, read this symposium, edited by Harry Laidler as a kind of campaign handbook. It is a brass-tack discussion of why capitalistic planning is inadequate, of the aims of Socialism and its immediate program for a transitional period, and of the agencies that may help inaugurate a planned economy. Here are illuminating debates on real economic problems with certain blueprints of proposed changes toward socialization. I liked Pierce Williams's sharp critique of what he calls the romanticism of the plans to improve capitalism without attacking the problem of the control of production. He thinks economic councils will be devices for forecasting economic changes with possibly a voluntary use of the forecasts by some enlightened industrialists. But a true plan means control to govern the changes so forecasting is not needed. Eveline Burns offers interesting views on the cure of unemployment: we may have to limit the consumer's choices by directing the energy of production into selected channels, and also slow down the adoption of technological improvements on the ground that employment and human values are as important as speed of progress—indeed, *are* the measures of progress! Felix Cohen argues for the essential oneness of politics and economics, and that deep-rooted legal concepts will need to be changed. This is a realistic book that courageously defines hard problems to be met by Socialists—or any other party of change.

Stuart Chase covers like fields in his brilliant new book wherein again he reveals his grasp of broad principles (such as the inevitable decline of speculative profits with a falling birthrate), his roaring sense of life in a web of quickened words, his gift for making the abstract clear and vivid, as when he says there is a six-man battle royal for the profits of industry between the landlord, the bond-holder, the stock-holder, management, labor and the tax-collector; and his passionate desire to make the transition to the New Era with order and democracy. He does not anticipate revolution because we have no revolutionary mass, and the technicians who might stop everything with a vast catastrophe will not use their own powers. Nor the second road of fascist dictatorship, for that means a standardized people, profitable consumers, with human values sacrificed, and also a fine fight among the pseudo

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dictators whose interests do not always coincide. And so he comes to the third road of a planned economy of transition, less dramatic and religious than the others, but preservative of values and not destructive of the going machine of which he has a profound fear and a deep reverence. Chase is willing to admit much private enterprise and even profits for he believes we could pay a limited profit on capital provided we could stop the senselessly acquisitive from trying to get rich in the sixteen ways (from monopoly and patent control through high pressure salesmanship and speculation to downright graft and racketeering) that are all monkey-wrenches in any planned economy. Here Mr. Chase confronts the real dragon which of old was called Greed and Lust for Power.

Until he slay that, his blue-prints in the final section on a managed currency, stiffer taxes, higher wages, control of speculation and investment lack, as they say, implementation. They demand power from the bottom to give, as he urges, control from the top. And there's the dilemma—to get the mass power to put the scientific (and disinterested) managers in power. Can we persuade the people by higher wages, shorter hours, decreased taxes, and security to forego the gamble for wealth? Will the lessons of this depression, as he rather naïvely suggests, make them come to this philosophy, or can we enlist them in a thrilling adventure, saying, "Why should the Russians have all the fun of remaking a world?" Chase splendidly admits that it would be cowardly not to offer his final chapter, On Changing a System. But it is short and vague. To the citizen who wants to align himself with the forces of change by orderly process, he suggests: (1) agitation and education; (2) the formation of a new party, hoping to throw together the Democrats and Republicans into contrast with a party that makes the twin political and business government one, as Russia has done, with the concept of public welfare not private profit dominant; (3) the organization by the intelligent minority of shock-troop units in every community working under a national coordinating body to educate themselves and their community on what an economic system is for and what plan would do for them. They could contribute facts for the central planners and offer nuclei for political action. We are back at the grass roots with Paul Douglass. I say this not in disparagement of Chase or Douglass who offer splendid books, rich and demanding your reading, but just to emphasize where they bring us.

WHAT the under-side of the grass roots look like can be found by prophet and citizen looking for light, in certain other books. They will find matted together, corruption in politics, pressure groups seeking selfish ends, and public apathy. Peace Veterans is the sincere, indignant protest of a former lieutenant against the ceaseless demands of the World War veterans pressure group. He is revolted and explains his revolt with some interesting figures on the sums being bludgeoned out of the rest of us by the political power of organized veterans. The book lacks authority and documentation but calls attention to a demand that costs a billion a year now and may cost our children two billion yearly. The author believes the racket side of relief may even deprive deserving ex-soldiers of the compensation and care everybody agrees they should get.

MORE Merry-Go-Round is really a study of pressure groups, financiers, lobbyists, admirals, generals, and politicians, their intrigues, methods, and social relations, though in form it is a gossipy chronicle about persons and events. It is more serious and constructive than its popular predecessor. It may be a valuable part of education despite the dangers in gossip, impressions, and generalizations, for after all political institutions are run by human beings with emotions, foibles, stupidities, scandals and befuddled good intentions. It is helpful to get even a superficial study of the personalities of the Supreme Court justices and how these personal equations determine decisions that will be of profound import in determining what plans Mr. Douglass and Mr. Chase can work out. Here is power at work and play in Washington, power apparently great enough to make the papers for which the authors of the book were correspondents dispense with their services. Washington Swindle Sheet reveals the cost to the taxpayers of the ancient small graft of legislators through unnecessary mileage payments, junkets, nepotism, and the expense accounts of commissions and investigations. The economy in government preached by the President is compared with the increased cost of the executive establishment. The appendices are enlightening. The total amount is not large, a drop in the bucket compared to the graft in business that drives managers to despair; but the mood of easy come, easy go, in our law-makers is discouraging.

MAYOR WALKER of New York has resigned with drama and repercussions, but none of the conditions of evil recorded in The Insolence of Office have been cured. It offers a clear factual digest of the high-spots of the investigation of judicial misconduct in New York City, and of the city government by a legislative committee, Samuel Seabury, counsel. Though the authors were closely connected with the investigation and its chief counsel, their story is remarkably unbiassed, as well as readable. It is instructive enough to serve the voter as a manual of some of the conditions he must remedy. The authors declare the politician with the "insolence of office" simply challenges the public: "What are you going to do about it?" They pass the challenge on to the citizen: What are you going to do about it?

Now the answer to that is not simple, partly because government has become so complex, with technological problems such as transportation and intricate economic relations, that it is almost impossible for the plain man to understand what is going on. The graft is not plain stealing but dealings in intangibles such as justice, public franchises and services and comes often through the barter of influence based on public office, for indirect favors such as an opportunity for profitable investments. One gets the impression that the politician has developed such a skilful technique of indirection that it becomes very hard to prove point-blank crookedness. It is established, of course, that such energy in pursuit of private gain proves a man unfit for public office. Now how are you going to show to the plain man his own interest in betterment when he cannot see where he is injured, or understand the factors in the case? Mr. Chase indeed apologizes for the difficulty of his exegesis of the money and price factors in economics. Can he assume in average men the mental energy or desire to understand either this, or his technological points, or even the nature of civilization and the need for plan against a threatened chaos?

SO WE come to the profound and philosophical discussion of the attitude of the mass man in a surplus economy that makes The Revolt of the Masses by Jose Ortega y Gasset a book to be read and pondered. I cannot risk a digest of these enthralling two hundred pages for they are packed with ideas, novel views, and exciting illustrations. They confront the whole ideal of planning in a democracy with the concept that mass man has come to believe he is born into a world where science and government dispense comfort and security without obligations. He takes these blessings as proof of his own intelligence and ability to partake of all the opportunities of civilization and owns no superiors and has no standard of values. He barges in everywhere, self-satisfied, greedy, a spoiled child, a primitive barbarian threatening a "vertical invasion", who has faith only in direct action, chiefly violence, and is likely to pull down the whole table to grab the sweets. He has no conception of the pains and labor of great leaders that have created science and ordered society; and so he has no sense of any duty or discipline that he must obey even to preserve the delicate structure he enjoys. He expects everything of society, nothing of himself and yet this demand on one's self for betterment is the mark of the enlightened few who create values. Now it is clear that a planned society demands discipline, long-time views, cooperation, and a sense of the principles of the state and of technicism. Señor Ortega y Gasset sees none of these things in the masses. And the more comfortable you make them the more indifferent and avaricious they will become. He makes much of the ingratitude and neglect towards pure science and applied technics although they serve mass men in the most obvious ways. The grabbing by pressure groups may indeed break down the whole intricate system from what Chase terms technological tenuousness.

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Ortega y Gasset apparently centers his hope on an intelligent minority that with a new code of morals based on values in life (here undisclosed) will find a new unity of purpose that will impose discipline and inspire faith. For Europeans that purpose will be the organization of Europe into a great state from which once more will come order and ideals. But this is a hope, whereas much of his analysis of the psychology of masses in a surplus economy seems already fact. The book is simple in form, easy to read, provocative of argument, and electric in challenge. It is the step after Veblen, the beginning of a theory of the leisure masses, and it has some of the impact of Spengler. It will not help you in casting your vote, but it will in understanding why casting your vote seems an impossible dilemma. LEON WHIPPLE

Changes in Ethics

ETHICAL RELATIVITY, *by Edward Westermarck. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 301 pp. Price $3.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS well-known sociologist is here answering the criticisms of his earlier teaching concerning the nature of moral conscience, that have accumulated through the years. The basis of ethics, as a science, according to Westermarck, lies in the recognition that morality derives from emotions, and that the antithesis of true and false cannot be applied. This psychological contention, unfortunately, is pursued through arguments for the most part outside the psychologist's universe of discourse. The author is most helpful where he draws his illustrative material, not from the literature of ethics, but from his own extensive knowledge of the historical continuity and transmutation of moral concepts.

The relativity of ethical standards is, of course, a fact of great practical importance—for example, to social workers in contact with diverse ethnic groups. But discussions like that recently held between Dean Kirchwey and Mr. Hepbron at the National Conference of Social Work, concerning the treatment of crime, indicate that our age and society can no more than others do without at least a tentative and conditioned agreement on moral principles and sanctions if it is to deal effectively with its own needs and problems. That we are better able to recognize our own retributive emotions than were earlier generations should make such agreement more possible than it was before the days of authentic scientific information. BRUNO LASKER

Healers Thru the Mind

MENTAL HEALERS *by Stefan Zweig. The Viking Press. 363 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

YOU may scoff at mesmerism; you can chuckle over the reality-dodging sophistries of Christian Science; you can grow heated and vituperative at the supposedly sex-charged tenets of psychoanalysis. But you simply cannot ignore the influence on the mental health of the world (whether for better or worse) of the contributions of Franz Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy and Sigmund Freud. Too many hundreds of thousands of unstable personalities have been enabled to carry on a little longer and on little better levels of adjustment because of the fixity of their belief in these healers, to relegate the accomplishments of the latter to a limbo of denial.

It was superbly shrewd of Stefan Zweig to make literary bedfellows of the three. In most respects each has evolved techniques of healing opposite as the poles; "Mesmer, by means of suggestion, strengthening the will-to-health; Mary Baker Eddy, by the anesthetic ecstasy of faith, conjuring pain and sickness out of the world; Freud, by rendering the patient aware of the conflict that burdens the unconscious and thus enabling him to escape its spell." Yet in spite of variations of method, a powerful common denominator pervades their work—that of supplying the personalized emotional conviction, the arousal of which every modern psychotherapist now concedes is an indispensable preliminary to the efficacy of healing. It is a consistent emphasis on this indispensable factor that provides the background for this book.

The author points out that, since the dawn of history, the sick man invariably tries to find a meaning for his suffering, yet he has never had courage to face the fact that illness assails him quite senselessly; that there is no aim or purpose in the fever which consumes his body. This senselessness of pain proves incomprehensible, and the Troglodyte must, therefore, confess to himself that illness has been sent by somebody who must have a reason for thrusting it upon him as a sort of punishment. This someone, therefore, can be none other than He to whom all things are possible. Consequently the gods are responsible for illness; the gods alone have power to cure.

The fight against disease has been not a fight against a particular illness in the past, but a hand-to-hand struggle to find God. Bodily suffering is not assuaged by technical manipulation, but through an act of faith; and one does not endeavor to treat disease, but to pray it out of existence. . . . The people do not want the expert who has a scientific knowledge of disease; what they desire is the medicine man who has power to oust the ailment.

An intuitive, if not a conscious, rationalization of this human need certainly became a motivating factor of the three particular mental healers whom Zweig describes, and yet the picture is a fascinating one. He shows us Mesmer branded as a charlatan, hounded by the scientific fraternity from capital to capital, discoverer of a principle which bears his name and yet which he himself never understood; Mary Baker Eddy, supreme opportunist with an indomitable will, rising from a twenty-year sick bed to become the Messiah of a great religion of health; and Sigmund Freud, the cold analytical scientist who resolutely cut his path through forbidden territory and changed the thought and morals of our era.

Here is a brilliant and fascinating book. It may arouse in some the spark of emotional resentment and partisanship, but it cannot fail to maintain interest. Several gorgeous evenings wait those who dip into this study. GEORGE K. PRATT, M.D.
National Committee for Mental Hygiene

Preliminary Plan

A PLANNED SOCIETY, *by George Soule. Macmillan. 294 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

GEORGE SOULE presents an extraordinarily sane, clear and well-balanced volume on the need for social planning as opposed to the hit-and-miss capitalistic order under which the world is at present suffering.

Preliminary to the concept of a planned society is a fascinating review of the economic and political illusions of the post-war period. He vividly describes the tragic effects of planlessness in a machine civilization; depicts the breakdown of the older liberal philosophy as a guide to social action; analyzes the far-flung theories of social revolution; expounds the age-old drive in man toward an organized life; tells of significant steps taken by the United States in the direction of planning during times of peace and times of war; sets forth Russia's contribution to the problem; devotes thirty-three pages to next steps in social planning in America and philosophizes regarding the future of planning.

The author presents no elaborate blueprint of a future society. He devotes far more space to the attack on the evils of industrial anarchy and on the false philosophy underlying the system of laissez-faire than he does to the mapping out of a new social order. He does point out, however, a number of concrete steps that may be taken within each industry and in the nation.

Mr. Soule is impatient with those who contend that no planning is possible until we have reorganized our system on the basis of social ownership. Yet he is convinced that "every step in the direction of planning for social ends must be a step away from capitalism, no matter how that word is defined. The more advanced stages of a planned society must be something closely akin to the broad ambitions of socialism."

The author raises a number of interesting tactical problems. One is this: If a person is convinced that genuine social planning on the basis of full use of our resources for the common good will be possible only under socialized industry, should he devote his effort to the development of economic councils under capitalism, in the belief that this step will almost inevitably lead in the direction of social ownership? Or should he concentrate on the organization of

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the masses for the purpose of achieving a socialized society, thus preventing the possibility of planning of a Fascist character? Or, in the third place, should the social radical strive to aid in both tasks? Each radical will answer from his experience.

The reviewer agrees with Mr. Soule in believing that many technicians can be mobilized immediately in the struggle for a better ordered society, leaving to the future the problem of private versus social ownership of industry. On the other hand, it will not be long before these planners must be prepared to decide how they stand on the more fundamental question of the continuance of the profit system. It is thus most important, while pointing out what next steps are possible in planning, to distinguish at the beginning between pseudo-planning and genuine planning for the common good and to aid in the development of political and economic organizations dedicated to such social ends. HARRY W. LAIDLER
League for Industrial Democracy

Recreation As Life

EDUCATION THROUGH RECREATION, *by L. P. Jacks. Harper. 155 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

"LET us have more joy in life," is the line that stands on the title page of this new book by L. P. Jacks. The great English educator, former principal of Manchester College at Oxford, editor of the Hibbert Journal, spent last winter in this country. His book is made up, in part, of papers delivered during those months, when he spoke in sixty cities under the auspices of the National Recreation Association (See The Survey, October 15, 1931, page 74).

Dr. Jacks urges his concept of education fused with recreation as a way out of the depression of spirit that weighs more heavily on the world than do the economic hard times. He sees education as "a wide encircling movement in the war against social evil, less spectacular, perhaps, than the crusading method, but more effective in the long run." But, he warns his readers, "to understand the meaning of education and of recreation we must see the two in union and not in separation. The education which is not also recreation is a maimed, incomplete, half-done thing. The recreation which is not also education has no re-creative value."

This sort of education and this sort of play, he shows, call for a new type of leadership not only in the schools, but in the community. "Training of the whole man," which would "lead him to the discovery of his own powers" of activity and enjoyment, offers a solution for such machine-age problems as the shortened work day (and lengthened leisure) and even of some aspects of the "enforced leisure" of the unemployed.

In his several chapters, Dr. Jacks looks at the failures of modern schools and play, discusses not only the theory but some of the techniques of his plan, considers what it would mean to the community, to health and skill, to art, to political life if we, as a people, solved thus creatively the common problem of leisure and education. To the stimulus of fresh and vigorous ideas Dr. Jacks adds the charm of his humor and his exquisite English prose, making his book in itself an adventure in education through recreation. BEULAH AMIDON

Justice Off the Track

CONVICTING THE INNOCENT, *by Edwin M. Borchard with the collaboration of E. Russell Lutz. Yale University Press. 421 pp. Price $3.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN Boston in 1914 seventeen persons swore that Herbert T. Andrews had personally put bad checks in their hands; he had not and was entirely innocent. Down in Mercer County, West Virginia, Payne Boyd was convicted of the murder of Squire H. E. Cook, "prominent citizens" helping to identify him; they were all wrong, the real murderer being later discovered. Floyd Flood was convicted of robbing a bank in Freeburg, Illinois, in 1924 and sentenced to from ten years to life; he had nothing to do with it. Up around Somerville, Massachusetts, the police got excited because ladies' bags were being snatched; Benjamin Collins found himself in prison for it. This was too bad, for Benjamin was not a bag-snatcher. New York has hardly yet forgotten the morning that Justice Guy of Brooklyn telephoned to Sing Sing forty minutes before Charles F. Stielow was to be electrocuted—and thus saved one more miscarriage of justice.

We all ought to be grateful to Professor Borchard for collecting data on sixty-five such cases. A district attorney in Worcester County, Massachusetts, is reported to have said: "Innocent men are never convicted. Don't worry about it, it never happens in the world. It is a physical impossibility." At least nobody will have to listen to that district attorney any more.

As you read these cases, you get the idea that if it happened to these sixty-five—the miscarriage of justice actually being proved in all—it is probably also happening in other cases. That is disconcerting. The sixty-five were selected pretty much at random, wherever clues occurred, for cases of this kind are not systematically reported. The major sources of the errors lay in mistaken identification (particularly by the *victims* of crimes of violence, showing perhaps some emotional disturbance in the victims); circumstantial evidence from which erroneous conclusions were drawn; and plain perjury. In fourteen cases the victims were "framed" by hostile witnesses. It is hardly a tribute to the infallibility of legal processes to learn that in thirteen cases there were no crimes—and that eight of these were murders; that is, out of the sixty-five cases eight convictions for murder were returned *when nobody had been murdered!* This is to introduce *opera bouffe* into the whole performance.

Professor Borchard does not draw hasty conclusions, but he places much of the blame on the zealousness of police or detectives, negligence of the police in "overlooking or even suppressing evidence of innocence," and on the prosecution's over-zealousness. He notes the influence, too, of that insidious technique of prosecution in the United States which regards "a conviction as a personal victory calculated to enhance the prestige of the prosecutor." While he is interested in criminal law reforms, he is even more interested, in connection with this study, in the European practice of reimbursing innocent victims, by appropriate indemnities, for the loss and damage suffered. Money payments, of course, cannot always do this, but that (plus admission of the error) is about all the state has to offer. Analyzing European statutes on this subject, he submits a draft bill for such relief in our own federal courts—and urges both state and federal governments to consider the adoption of such a policy. Then the tragic mockery of convicting the innocent would be partially relieved. WINTHROP D. LANE
Trenton, N. J.

An Honest Man's Camera

MEN AT WORK, *by Lewis W. Hine. Macmillan. Price $1.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS little book of fifty-three photographs is a man's credo and his life. "I have toiled in many industries and associated with thousands of workers," says Lewis Hine, in an introductory statement. "Some of them are heroes; all of them persons it is a privilege to know. I will take you into the heart of modern industry . . . then the more you see of modern machines, the more may you, too, respect the men who make them and manipulate them." In the years that photographers focused on misty scenes and cloud banks, Hine was quietly photographing mankind on the job, and now that photographers have discovered the Machine Age, mainly to glorify the inanimate machine, Hine goes right on improving his photographic records of men at their work whom "it is a privilege to know." He is puzzled and dismayed by the present vogue of camera tricks, the faked lighting, the posing, all the theatrical effects; the natural dignity of man, the texture and shape of his tools are enough for him. Here it is, you don't have to improve on it, his photographs say. And one sees that it is true. These are selections from Hine's best studies, which means that they are as fine as one could demand. The publishers have brought it out as a book for adolescent young people, but artists, sculptors, writers and other adults with much less imagination will be stirred by it. It is a reintroduction of man to man, when both most need it.
THE EDITORS

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more urgent need of this care.

Cleanliness is as near to beauty as to any other kind of godliness and the replanned community must be clean. This means provision for the elimination of dust and smoke, the proper disposal of garbage, and the prevention of the accumulation of junk and other filth. If the planning includes the whole community, it will not mean the use by villagers of the country roadsides as a dumping ground, or the fouling of the creeks and rivers in garbage and sewage disposal.

The strongest argument for cleanliness is the need of sanitation, but other provisions for the public health must be made by the community planners. A building code must be made and enforced providing for the safe and healthful as well as the artistic housing of farmers and villagers. Water supplies for both villagers and farmers must be safe. The village must usually depend upon a public water-works. This should not only be responsible for purifying the water supply, but should soften it where softening is necessary. The community, if it is to guard the public health, must make regulations for the farmer's water supply as well. Such regulations must determine the depth and kind of wells to be dug and prevent their contamination. A village central heating plant and an electric plant furnishing light, heat and power to all members of the community would promote health and contribute to various other needs. Cleanliness is as closely associated with healthiness as it is with godliness and the community must furnish a public bath and toilet facilities or remain godless.

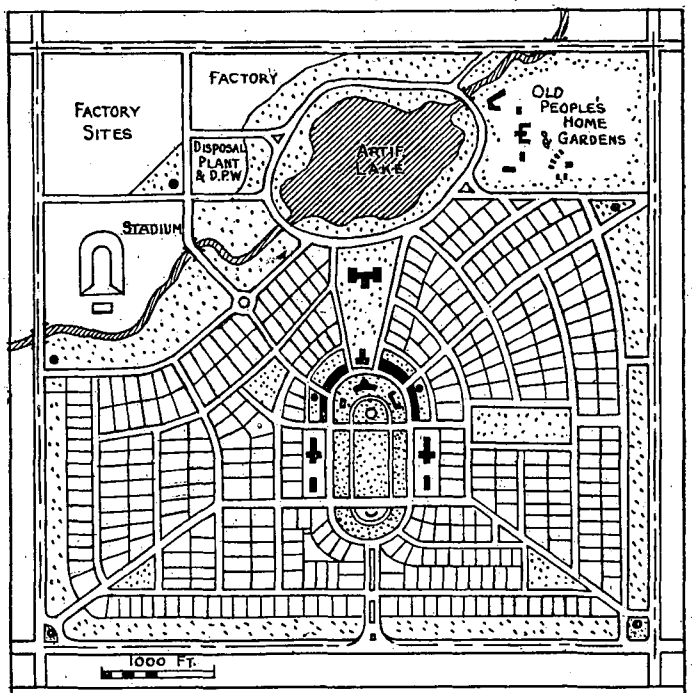
THE planners must keep in mind the safety of residents, and contrive to make even the railroad companies respect human life. They must not allow the desire of business men to sell a few more gallons of gasoline to prevent the routing around the village of through traffic on the highways. They must scheme to allow children to go to and from school without crossing busy streets. They must not depend upon insurance to pay the fire damage, but must insist upon preventing loss of life by building fireproof buildings. If mental as well as physical health is to be guarded, they must avoid unnecessary noise through such provisions as proper zoning ordinances. Although preventive measures must receive the greatest emphasis, the community must be provided with a hospital so financed that the poorest citizen may be served by it. The ideal community must be a healthy community.

While it is not the principal requirement for wholesome recreation, the structural arrangement of the community is an important factor in the recreational program and community planners must take the responsibility for supplying a park, playground and other equipment for this program. The playground might be extended to include even golf links. The gymnasium of the public school could easily be made to serve adults as well as children. The recreational facilities must be of sufficient capacity to serve open-country as well as village residents. A supervised communal picnic ground, possibly in connection with a tourist camp in the country or in the village, would save the destruction of the farmers' crops and dispositions and, like all wholesome recreational provisions, would be a moral and sanitary asset. The full cooperation and neighborly understanding between villagers and farmers might be fostered by providing community control and encouragement of such sports as fishing, hunting and summer resorting. The community plan might include such enterprises as the planting of fish in lakes and streams.

While the community as a whole must be an educational institution, the planners must give attention to the specialized and formal educational equipment. In most localities, the necessary changes in this respect are more radical, expensive and urgent than in any other reform. If education is going to be other than semi-public the farmer must not be expected to educate his children separately, but must enjoy advantages equal to the barber and the banker and on the same terms. The task of the community planners is to determine the kind of buildings, their location, and the amount of land to be set aside for educational purposes. The twenty acres which the city of Gary, Indiana, allows for each building is not too large; the location is part of the zoning scheme; and the kind of buildings must conform to peculiar educational needs of the community and to the other requirements of the model community, such as beauty and healthfulness. Included in the educational requirements are a public library with a wagon to carry books to the homes of farmers.

No thorough-going community planning can neglect the religious needs of the citizens. If the psychological prerequisites which are assumed were sufficiently strong, the enlarged community here considered might build and support a cathedral in which the citizens might learn to sing out of the same hymn book and in which the religious forces might take on a new dignity and generate a positive influence for communal well-being. The original cost and upkeep of a plant in which self-respecting worshipers could take pride would be no greater than the numerous buildings with which the fifty-seven varieties of religious denominations have, in most places, disfigured the landscape. In the beginning it might be necessary to let different denominations use the same building at different hours.

THE community needs a seat for its government, the planning of which is important, but the planners will have to concern themselves with more than the building of a beautiful and convenient court house. They must contrive to make community government local government indeed. American county government is notoriously inefficient. Everything is wrong with it that could be wrong, and any change is bound to be an improvement. It has no responsible head as has every other government on the face of the earth. It is entirely lacking in unity and the correlation of its functions. Its waste is estimated to be as great as its necessary cost. It needs an expert purchasing agent, a scientific accounting system, an efficient budgeting method and responsible auditing. It must invent some legislative machinery. A modification of legislation may be necessary to the financing of community enterprises, for example. It



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Community building should harmonize the science of production with the art of living.—C. A.

needs new correctional equipment to take the place of the disgraceful county jails.

The planners will get the most ready cooperation in their provision for the economic needs. They must allow for the most efficient use of commercial and industrial equipment consistent with the above requirements. They must contrive to promote, so far as the structure of the community is concerned, the economic functions for which the natural resources are best adapted. There is, for instance, a close relation between such functions and the systems of transportation. Just as the community needs to prevent, as much as possible, sickness, accidents and delinquency, so it must seek to prevent poverty, but it must expect failures. It has always been ready to claim responsibility for successes of all sorts. It must be equally ready to assume responsibility for failures. It must not be so optimistic as to neglect to provide for the failures. It must, for one thing, find a substitute in the way of a respectable home for that greatest blot on our civilization, the county poorhouse. Such a home might include a group of cottages where the aged might not have to depend entirely upon charity, where they could find congenial companionship with others in or out of the home, and where they would not be excluded from the social activities of the community.

Since community consciousness, public opinion, and public sentiment are necessary not only for the inauguration of the reform of the community but to keep it reformed, the planners must produce the equipment for the development and for the generation and organization of such consciousness, opinion and sentiment. This provision will involve the machinery for both formal and informal face-to-face discussion. For the formal discussion, there must be an auditorium limited in capacity only to the potential size of the audiences. This might well be equipped to serve not only for lectures and forums, but for picture-show, opera, theater, and dance hall.

European rural village communities can furnish many suggestions of equipment for informal discussions. The American rural community must improvise a substitute for that convivial, democratic, socializing institution, the public house or saloon. This community club, or whatever it is to be called, must be made to perform its function without breeding a race of alcoholics. In connection with it there could be established a community kitchen, lunch room, and rest room where farmers and townsmen could meet in informal, congenial, social intercourse. The public square, furnished with comfortable seats where neighbors could sit and discuss the weather, politics and Einstein's theory, would encourage community socialization. In European rural communities, the village market is an institution which contributes to this socializing process as well as to economic needs. The formal and informal discussion and social organization would be promoted by the improvement of all kinds of communication and transportation. The planners must keep in mind the needs of good roads as well as streets, efficient postal, railway and aviation service.

ONE reason that the social organization of American rural communities has been so weak and inefficient, and the community intelligence so low is the homogeneity of the constituency of the community. Farmers have had only farmers for neighbors, and there has been a monotony of points of view represented by the village population. At present the better minds leave the rural community because of its intellectual (*Continued on page* 488)

Wisdom is knowing what to do—Virtue is doing it. In community planning we seem to have acquired virtue before we have attained wisdom.—C. A.

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Scientific City Planning will begin only when our confidence in the city of today will have come to an end.—C. A.

(*Continued from page* 487) poverty. Individualism is bound to be rampant and community unity and solidarity weak where likeness in the population prevails. The independent pioneer notion that each family is sufficient unto itself is still predominant among rural people. The consciousness of interdependence and human solidarity will increase only as the community comes to include a variety of specialists producing a large assortment of material and spiritual products. When each neighbor becomes a specialist, supplying only one of his many needs, and depending upon trading his surplus for his share of the products of many other specialists, he will understand the meaning of community interdependence. In a recent study, Village and Open-County Neighborhoods (Century Company), it was found that European rural villages were far superior to American open-country neighborhoods in this respect. Grospbartan, Germany, for example, has seventy-two different professions and occupations represented in its population. The basis of the evolutionary process is variation, and if selection, natural or artificial, is to function most constructively, there must be many varieties from which to select. This applies to the selection of ideas as well as to every other phase of the process. A well-planned community would attract to itself a great variety of industrial, occupational, and professional interests and would produce in the community, through the social interaction of a great complex of points of view, that resourcefulness which is sometimes referred to as a "fertile mind" in an individual. It would produce the enlargement, enlightenment and enlivenment as well as the unification of community life.

FOOD AND FOLKS FROM THE HINTERLAND

(*Continued from page* 453)

150 days or more off the farm in other than farm work, or reported an occupation other than farmer, provided the value of products did not exceed $750" were classified as "part-time" farms in the 1930 Census. There were 339,000 such farms. In New England they ranked third and, in the Middle Atlantic states, fourth in number among the various types of farms. This is the first census in which such a classification has been made; but farms of under three acres, many of which doubtless were part-time farms, increased 22,641, which is 111 per cent, between 1920 and 1930; farms of three to nine acres increased 47,091, which is 18 per cent; and farms of ten to nineteen acres increased 51,854, which is 10 per cent. All larger farms decreased in number, except those of over five hundred acres.

These part-time farms reduce the cash cost of living or raise the standard of living, afford a sort of recreation, and provided considerable security in times of depression and unemployment. Such farms seem likely to increase in number, and the increase may be rapid if a shorter work-day becomes common. Migration of factories to villages and small towns would also greatly favor such part-time farming.

This development of part-time farming, however, is a very different thing from an increase in full-time farms that many people apparently think will result from the unemployment situation. To assume that these unemployed who have gone back to the country will not return to the city when the depression is over is to assume that they can not find work in the city or that the wages offered will be less than the income they can derive from self-sufficing farming, which is low.

WHETHER unemployment becomes general in the future, or whether wages become lower than in the past depends, of course, on the distribution of the national income, which no

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one can forecast with assurance. But it is possible to note the probable influence upon population trends of an increasing and of a decreasing proportion of the population engaged in agriculture.

If unemployment diminishes to its predepression dimensions, and urban wages provide a much higher standard of living than is afforded by largely self-sufficing farming, the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture may be expected to continue, accompanied by a decreasing farm population and a national birthrate declining more rapidly than it would decline if the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture were stationary or increasing. If, on the other hand, urban unemployment persists and wages become too low to attract young people from the farms, it is reasonable to expect an increase in the farm population. This increase, however, probably will be owing to rural excess of births over deaths more than to migration from the cities.

BUT unemployment and low wages in the cities will tend to depress the urban birthrate, and may more than balance the rural increase of population. Whether the future holds in store economic prosperity or depression, the prospect for any increase in births is not bright. If it be prosperity, the cities and suburbs seem likely to receive all the natural increase which the farm population will provide—unless there be a great migration of manufacturing to the villages. If it be depression, the rural districts are likely to retain much of their natural increase, and the increase may be greatest where the birthrate and density of the population are the highest, because of insufficient wealth in the hands of the youth in such districts to acquire use of the land in the richer and more sparsely populated regions.

Since there are not enough children in most of the cities to maintain their population after a decade or two without migration from the rural regions or immigration from abroad, and since the rural population, except in 1931, has been experiencing a depletion of its young people which will soon have a depressing effect on the birthrate, while restrictions on immigration may not be relaxed, it seems none too soon to consider the consequences of a declining national population. A stationary population would have many advantages and perhaps need not occasion grave concern. But a declining population will have serious economic and social consequences. The most serious feature is the probability that once the decline sets in it will become persistent and progressive. Unless the birthrate should rise rapidly for a considerable period, the insufficient number of children in one generation to maintain population stationary will result in a smaller number of mothers, who will in turn give birth to a still smaller number of daughters. Thus a downward spiral in population is engendered the trend of which it will be difficult to check.

CITIES BUILT ON SAND
(*Continued from page* 463)

within the urban region, whereas the manufacturing economy may fear that such a change will lead to higher freight rates. Thus our geographic study often involves not only the relation of each urban type to the environment but also the interrelations of the various types in one area as they hinder or encourage each other's use of the site.

Is there any definite correlation between population density and the resources of an area? Roughly such a relationship exists but it is often obscured by variables such as different standards of living, different stages of eco- (*Continued on page* 490)

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Civic art is the freeing of the individual creative instinct through communal action.—C. A.

(*Continued from page* 489) nomic development, and different degrees of knowledge of the regional potentialities. For example, the same environment which supports three hundred million Chinese would probably support only fifty million people on the American standard of living. On the other hand, a change in the stage of economic development—such as the industrialization of China—might enable twice as many people to live in that area without lowering the standard of living.

Applying this analysis to our regional planning, the geography of an area sets the outside limits for population growth. Within these limits, we may build slums, model apartments for workmen, garden cities or large estates, but we cannot hope to support as dense a population as a slum area on the standard of living of the estate-dweller. If we push the population of a section beyond its productivity, we must in time either lower the standard of living or else have a community which is living beyond its income and which will sooner or later meet the fate of Manaos.

Regional planning need not feel that it must submit passively to these geographic limits. Most of our relations with the physical environment are with the *realized environment* rather than the actual physical environment. The careful geographic analysis which should accompany any thorough regional investigation should bring to light many previously unknown resources. Furthermore, the rearrangements which gradually take place under the guidance of the regional plan should increase the efficiency of environmental utilization. So regional planning may not only prepare (within certain limits) for an increased population but may allow this population to achieve a higher standard of living through more efficient utilization of resources and new discoveries of economic possibilities. Japan provides an example of what can be accomplished. In 1800, Japan supported about twenty-five million people who were in constant danger of starvation. Today, with almost the same resources, Japan supports sixty million people on a much higher standard of living, and starvation is no longer common.

TO sum up our thesis: many ambitious regional plans fail to give adequate consideration to the geographic basis of settlement. Consequently, many cities have been developed far beyond any scientific justification and may decline, as has Manaos. Other cities, such as Gary, have been developed on a firm basis and seem to be relatively stable. Nevertheless, since a geographic situation is complex and dynamic, many factors which make for change must be watched so that crises may be anticipated and new adjustments made. The density of population is only broadly determined by the environment, and social factors, such as the standard of living, must be considered. Regional planning may, however, add to our realization of environmental possibilities as well as increase our efficiency in utilizing known resources. In any case, the regional planner must be careful not to build too much on a slight or insecure geographic foundation. To determine the strength of any geographic foundation requires a more detailed and more intricate study than most planners realize. Applied geography provides a firmer basis for regional planning than the hopes and aspirations of local patriots and boosters.

PUBLIC TOOLS FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

(*Continued from page* 473)

from government strong state planning boards, with a breadth of approach not yet realized. Behind them should be a federal planning board to coordinate their recommendations and to deal with those allocations and movements which, though more than region-wide, have regional implications. Even though much of the spade work be done by agricultural experiment stations (them-

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The closer people live in congested cities the greater the social and spiritual distance between them.—C. A.

selves governmental), universities, utility companies and voluntary associations, I know of no agency but government that can pull their thinking together.

As to regulation, government is, as we have said, the instrument for the imposition of the common will upon the individual. It can influence his use of land in three ways short of assuming complete control. Guidance may seem a weak medicine for the ills of the day; and it is inescapable that the real enemy of land planning is land speculation. If we can drum it into ourselves that it is a public utility, regulation may help. If we have to proclaim land a natural resource,—and many a discouraged planner would gladly write such a proclamation,—we have jumped out of the confines which space imposes on this particular discussion.

THE police power is our first device for regulation. Zoning, which in some communities already prescribes five acres as the smallest plot on which a residence may be built in the most restricted districts, is definitely a tool of planning and has already outgrown its original justification in the interest merely of light, air and health. It will go further. Just as we now exclude inappropriate industry from certain areas more suitable for residence, we may forbid even residences on land which cannot efficiently and economically be developed for that purpose.

Both our large and small cities already have enough land improperly withdrawn from agricultural use and cut up into building lots to accommodate from two to four times their ultimate possible population. There should be stringent governmental control over the continuance of this process,—perhaps by the issuance of certificates of necessity for good cause shown.

Further, government must be armed with much wider powers of eminent domain to prevent the obstruction of large-scale planning. I am more interested in the power than in the numerous examples of its difficulty of administration. The Westchester County Park Commission, in assembling thirty million dollars worth of land, was able to acquire nine tenths of it by private treaty, presumably satisfactory to both the owner and the public,—because it had the power to take the land anyhow.

Again, the power of taxation is in itself a tool for land planning. It can be used to encourage building, as by the Pittsburgh graded tax plan, which is to tax improvements only half as much as land. It can be used to promote reforestation, by decreasing taxes on such land during the period of growth, collecting the state's share when the crop comes in, and discouraging indiscriminate timber stripping.

The inter-relation of taxation and land planning is being most dramatically demonstrated right now in Mississippi, Michigan and other states in which the government finds itself the not-so-proud proprietor of thousands of parcels of land, the owners of which could not make them yield enough revenue to meet the taxes. This is the fault both of maladjustment of the incidence of taxation and of inappropriate use of land. And it shows that under our system the government will find itself inevitably called upon to carry forward such community enterprises as will not yield profits. If these defaulted lands are appropriate only for open spaces and reforestation, it will be the government which will have to develop them. The hope that lies in a joining of regional planning and government is that the necessary re-adjustments can thus be made without so much tragic loss to thousands of rugged individuals.

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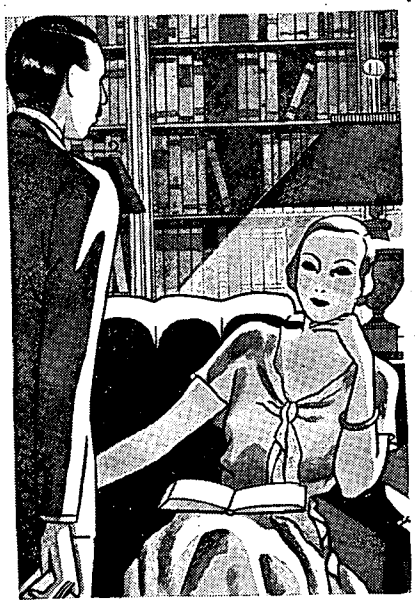

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TRAVELER'S NOTEBOOK

From Spain

THE Spanish girls who come to the Residencia are quite the contrary to the impression that most people have of Spanish girls. They are not the pretty dolls devoid of brains and conversation that people will tell you they are, but are full of character and animation, and nearly all of them are kindness itself. They are always anxious to tell us what to see, and the most economical way of seeing things; where to shop, and so on. Political emotion runs high, and it is always more tactful to listen than talk on that subject —anything royalist is frowned upon. Some of the Smith group went to the prison to call upon some young aristocrats who are political prisoners, and Miss B. has asked them not to go there again because of the bad feeling which it might cause. Shortly after the visit to the prison by the other girls, three of my Spanish friends came to my room and wanted to know if I had been one of the "traitors" who had been to the prison. And it was quite impossible to make them feel the least sympathy for those poor boys who were arrested for defending a monastery and have been languishing for nine months in jail without trial!

Spanish girls are much less adventuresome than American girls. They travel very little even in their own country, and while they like to dream about going to America they become timid when they see the opportunity within reach; and as a matter of fact I don't think Spanish families like to send their daughters so far away.

For those who enjoy being out of doors, Madrid offers two country clubs, with tennis courts, golf links, swimming pools and race tracks. And mountains splendid for tramping about. . . .

The Boston Symphony tried to get Arbós as its director, but he declined the offer, preferring to remain in Madrid. He worked here for twenty-two years without receiving any financial compensation except the division of the net profits of the box office returns, and many times there was nothing to divide. Now he is receiving the recognition that is his due and the Sunday morning concerts, given at the Cine Monumental, are well attended. The entrance fee is at the popular price of three pesetas, less than thirty cents to us, though to the Spaniards it is sixty cents, which is the usual cost of a theater ticket.

ONE of the things that I have noticed here is the contrast with France as regards the attitude of the people towards the inflation of their money. The French resented the advantage of the exchange to foreigners and there was everywhere—in restaurants, in shops, in hotels—one price for foreigners and another price for French people. There is almost nothing of that in Spain. Naturally it is unpleasant to feel that one's money is inflated, but the people blame the government for that, and like good hosts rejoice that the foreigner can live better in their country and see more of it than he could otherwise do. On the other hand, Spain has always been one of the most expensive countries of Europe and if it were not for the exchange we should find things very dear.

For those who wish to travel extensively in Spain the kilometric ticket (good only for three months) is a great economy. It costs 307 pesetas (a peseta is equivalent to a little less than 11 cents) for 3000 kilometers, in first class, which saves one third on the cost of the same number of kilometers bought in tickets from place to place. The cost of the second class ticket is 228 pesetas, but usually the fast trains do not carry second class coaches, only first and third, and the slow trains are terrible. A third class ticket costs 142 pesetas. I don't advise it as one sits on straight wooden benches, very close to one's neighbor, and whatever poultry, fleas or other livestock he may choose to carry along. It's all right for a short excursion, but for any long trip it would be quite unbearable. Two persons

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may use the 3000 kilometric ticket, and a photograph of the bearer, or bearers, is required.

Many of the interesting places are within a small radius of Madrid, and can be visited in short excursions without spending the night, to wit: Toledo, Segovia (from here take a half hour's trip to la Granja by autobus and see the palace), Escorial, Siguenza.

Betty and I had quite an experience on the train from Madrid to Valencia. We tried to save money by taking a night train so that we could have the day in Valencia; but as sleepers are a luxury we decided that we were Spanish enough by that time to forego the sleeper. We found a compartment with one nice looking little dressing case, and a very nice looking lady hovering about, so there we installed ourselves, hoping that we should have no more traveling companions. When the train pulled out our female companion disappeared and a tall blond young man walked in, greatly to our consternation. At eleven o'clock he asked us if we preferred to sleep with half light or with no light, and stretched himself out on his side of the compartment, all wrapped up in an auto rug. Thereupon we each took one end of our side and threw our coats over ourselves. Next morning we woke up very wrinkled. Betty reported later that both the young man and I had snored, that she had said "sh!" to him, and he had stopped, but I hadn't. We went to our hotel so tired that we slept all morning, having to pay twenty pesetas extra for our room at the hotel, so I do not think we shall try sitting up all night on the train again. We have laughed over it many times since and think we were lucky that time, because another time we might not have such a well-bred young man; I think his mother must have told him not to speak to strange women, because he did not even offer to take down our bags for us.

MARY B. PEIREE (*by courtesy of the Institute of International Education*)

Drama in Vienna

VIENNA, according to Seven Seas, will initiate a rather original dramatic project this fall; a series of twelve to fourteen international plays will be produced under the general title, Voices of the Peoples in Drama. Some of the selections already made are Germany—Hauptmann's Florian Geyer; Austria—Grillparzer's Brothers' Feud in the House of Hapsburg; England—Shaw's Man and Superman; France—Rostand's Cyrano de Bergerac; Italy—d'Annunzio's Giaconda; Russia—Tolstoy's Resurrection; Spain—Calderon's Life, A Dream; Sweden—Strindberg's To Damascus; and of course among the others will be one by Eugene O'Neill.

Perhaps it is not too much of a digression to mention in the same breath that not a few former bank buildings in Vienna are being converted into "exciting new cafes."

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